

THE
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ART. I.—THE UNION OF 1707 VIEWED FINANCIALLY.

SUCH a difficulty as exists, or till partially removed by the prevalence of widespread agricultural depression, did exist in getting disciples of the school of the late Richard Cobden, and the late Radical but now quasi-conservative John Bright, to listen to any facts, figures, or fancies, which in the most distant manner attacked the principles of Free Trade, has been even more apparent, whenever any one has been rash enough to discuss, otherwise than with absolute and unqualified approval, the Union effected in 1707 between the free and independent kingdoms of Scotland and England. So completely has the Treaty of Union been regarded as the mainspring of Scotland's prosperity in the Nineteenth Century (of the Eighteenth not so much is, or needs be said), that almost every event in that country's previous history has been relegated to obscurity or depreciated as trivial and insignificant, while the condition of provincialism into which Scotland has sunk is regarded as the acmé of its good fortune. Never was there, according to this view, a stronger instance of the truth of the proverb: 'Happy is the people that has no history;' for saving the story of the revolts of 1715 and 1745, Scotland, as Scotland, has hardly any more history than have the counties of York and Lancaster. While to the minds of the people thoroughly imbued with this view of the Union, the Middle Ages in

Europe generally come to a close at latest with the Fifteenth Century, for Scotland, the reign of darkness is prolonged till the beginning of the Eighteenth. Before 1707, these people see obscurity, ignorance, barbarism, but after that date the light reflected by its Southern neighbour begins slowly to dawn upon the belated North, and in the middle of the Nineteenth Century they find Scotland comparatively well advanced in civilization, possessed of considerable wealth and making awkward attempts at imitating English refinement, though without a name to distinguish it in the eyes of the world from the country which has swallowed it up, and which claims to speak for it, to think for it, and to act for it. It may appear to some that this is an exaggerated description of the effacement of Scotland which has resulted from its voluntary amalgamation with England as one free and independent nation with another free and independent nation; if so, let us refer to the following recent incident as an example of what may be heard any day in the year in quarters from which better things might reasonably be expected.

During last Session of the House of Commons, on 5th April of the current year, the First Lord of the Treasury, discussing an estimate for expenditure incurred in connection with the defence of the Egyptian frontier, stated that the Government came to the conclusion that only a portion of this expenditure had been incurred with the authority of the 'representatives of England' in Egypt, and that for certain reasons the 'English Government' had not called upon the Egyptian Government to pay the sum. The member for Caithness thereupon put the pertinent question, 'Where is this English Government the right honourable gentleman has spoken of?' So completely unconscious was the First Lord of the Treasury of having used an inappropriate term that in the innocence of his heart he replied that he did not quite understand the meaning of the question, adding in evident compassion for the obtuseness of his Scotch questioner: 'The English Government is in England and the Egyptian Government is in Egypt.' As the protest of the Scot that the British, and not the English, Government was concerned, merely evoked a laugh—the usual

fate of such protests—nothing can be plainer than that the practical view of the Union held by our present governors is that Scotland has surrendered, while England has retained every right to recognition of separate nationality. The Queen is the ‘Queen of England’ as no doubt she is, though something more—the Imperial Parliament is ‘England’s Parliament’ which it virtually is, though it ought not to be. The army also is ‘England’s army,’ and the navy the ‘navy of Old England,’ though as we shall see later on the ‘English Parliament’ considerably allows Scotland an inordinate share of the burden of maintaining both of these branches of national defence. Look where we will, we see this tone adopted towards Scotland. It has become so universal and inveterate that even Scotsmen are to be found infected with the prevailing habit. It may be argued that it is unnecessary to attach much importance to colloquialisms, and that it is practically impossible to avoid substituting the name of the largest and most important part of the United Kingdom as representing its whole. But the wish is notoriously ‘father to the thought,’ and a still more recent incident than the one above referred to brings into strong relief the ultimate consequences of yielding to English arrogance the right of Scotland to recognition in Imperial matters. In Articles 1, 2, and 4 of the Convention between Her Majesty the Queen and the Emperor of China relative to Burmah and Thibet, dated 24th July of last year, the name of England alone appears as the agreeing party. On attention being drawn to the matter in Parliament, the First Lord of the Treasury did not venture to justify the description—a ‘mistake’ had been made which he regretted, but all the same the treaty had been definitely settled. It will remain when Mr. Smith’s apology—with the protests of Scottish members which evoked it—is forgotten, and a precedent has been established which will be valuable to English opponents of Scottish ‘particularism.’

The dismal prophecies of Fletcher of Saltoun, of Lord Belhaven, and of other opponents of the Treaty of Union of 1707, of disastrous consequences, which they anticipated would result to Scotland from this measure, have been regarded as entirely

baseless and falsified by the events which followed its accomplishment. But though treated as were the prophecies of Cassandra by the Trojans, it remains to be seen whether, like Cassandra's, they were not in many and important respects the outcome of true prophetic instinct, and that if the Union did not become unbearable, it was owing to providential circumstances which were no more anticipated by the advocates than by the opponents of the measure. Indeed very few years had elapsed after the Union when the Scottish leaders, alarmed at the critical condition of the country, had to meet together and consider how its trade was hampered and destroyed by prohibitions, regulations, and impositions, laid on by England; how it was drained of money, and how the country was experiencing the very evils which the opponents of the Union had predicted, while at the same time the English Government and Parliament were treating the Scottish representatives in such an arbitrary manner that it seemed clear that redress was not to be expected under the Union, and that the only remedy lay in its dissolution. It is true that to ruin the trade and commerce of Scotland, there were not made the outrageous attempts which the commercial classes of England used with only too complete success against their Irish competitors. However prostrate the condition of Scotland, her representatives in the United Parliament had always influence and energy sufficient to prevent their country becoming a second Ireland. Indeed, had the Union been delayed until a fair Parliamentary representation of all three kingdoms had been effected, as was done in 1801, it is probable that many disadvantages to both Scotland and Ireland, which have attended the Union of the three countries, would have been avoided, or would, at least, have been considerably mitigated, by the opportunities which would have been afforded to the two weaker countries, for combining more effectually against the selfish class interests paramount in England. Without further entering into the question we may assume that valid grounds were not wanting for discontent in Scotland when such an ardent supporter of the Union as the Duke of Argyll, himself one of its most active promoters, and whose timely opposition would

have been fatal to its adoption, declared from his place in the House of Lords, within seven years from the passing of the Act, that he was of opinion that a Union which had been so often infringed, should finally be dissolved, and proved the sincerity of his declaration by supporting a motion for repeal, which motion was only rejected in the House of Lords by the narrow majority of four votes.

It may no doubt be said that much has happened since then, and that in view of the wonderful tide of prosperity which has flowed upon both countries, there is now no reason for recalling either the political intrigues by means of which the Union was carried, or the fears or disappointments of the generation which witnessed its accomplishment, and that it is now absurd to act otherwise than as if the inhabitants of Great Britain from Land's End to John o' Groats, had never been anything else than one undivided people. This view, indeed, if adopted, would render it undesirable to pay regard to some of the most express conditions contained in the Treaty of Union itself, but there might be force in it, could we suppose that every piece of good fortune which has befallen the United Kingdom since 1707, has happened not only after, but because of the Union—that to it must be ascribed not only the immense extension of Britain's Colonial Empire, but also the discovery of steam power, of the jacquard loom, of the wonderful powers of electricity, and of the hundred other discoveries which have tripled the population, and multiplied a hundredfold the wealth of Great Britain. Of these advantages we may assume that Scotland would have had her share had the Union of the English and Scottish Parliaments never taken place, and the Scottish people need not, because of them, shut their eyes to inequalities in the contract between the two nations operating to the disadvantage of the lesser one—inequalities not dreamt of, much less introduced of set purpose, when the contract was settled, but gradually developed under circumstances to which nothing in the previous history of either country affords a parallel. So long as general prosperity increased by 'leaps and bounds,' it was natural that such inequalities should be overlooked, but

when, as now happens, the pressure of unprosperous times makes itself felt, burdens, formerly borne without complaint, become more galling. At such times, it is more than ever desirable, in the interest of both parties, that all semblance of unfairness and every just subject of discontent should be removed which can foster jealousy or ill-feeling between two peoples who ought to live in perfect equality, harmony, and friendship.

It may be urged that a contract such as that made between England and Scotland in 1707, is not only irrevocable in respect of its scope and object, but that even its terms and conditions are sacred and beyond discussion; but if it can be shewn that in certain respects the conditions of Union do not answer the ends which the framers of the Treaty aimed at, or that what was appropriate in the Eighteenth Century is hurtful in the Nineteenth, it will surely not be maintained that we must go on unequally yoked to the end of time. It must be presumed that mutual advantage to both peoples was the object of the Treaty, and it is matter of fact that the changed circumstances of both countries have in the past necessitated the introduction of extensive modifications into the Constitution of the country as it existed in 1707, and reasonably so, for the forms of government suitable for a nation of ten millions of people must in many ways be modified in order to accommodate them to the needs of thirty-five millions.

While, however, we may incidentally touch on points whereon we consider that the Union of 1707 has detrimentally affected Scotland, it is not our purpose in the present paper to discuss, much less to attack that measure. On the contrary, we are ready to acknowledge that in many and most important points it has been of incalculable benefit to Scotland as well as to England, and that any disadvantages from which our country suffers, are light compared to the evils formerly entailed upon it by the cat and dog life of previous centuries. Neither do we propose to enter upon the question of legislative reforms by which the condition of Scotland might be ameliorated. We prefer to take the Union at the highest value which its most enthusiastic admirers can possibly place upon it, and

to regard it as a measure of the utmost advantage both to Scotland and to England; but while doing so we shall shew, what many Scotchmen little dream of, that a price is being annually paid by the former country to the latter for the boon—a price partly paid in hard cash, the amount of which it is possible with more or less certainty to approximate, but partly also in disabilities and deprivations which have followed as direct consequences of the Union, and which have entailed, and continue annually to entail, upon Scotland a vast pecuniary loss which marks but cannot measure certain lamentable social evils from which Scotland suffers.

In our enquiry we shall endeavour to show—(1) that Scotland contributes a disproportionately large share of Revenue to the Imperial Exchequer, but does not receive equally with England a fair share of the expenditure of that revenue. (2) That Scotland is unduly burdened with expenses attending the procuring of legislation for local purposes, and for obtaining judicial decisions dealing with Scottish matters. (3) That Scotland suffers serious loss through enormous sums of money being withdrawn or diverted from it; directly, through the transfer of the seat of Parliament to London, and indirectly, through the absence and alienation of the landed aristocracy and other members of the wealthiest classes of her people.

It is obvious that many matters embraced in a calculation of the nature contemplated in this enquiry cannot be submitted to the test of precise and definitely ascertained figures, but we are confident that we shall adduce sufficient reliable data to enable us to show that, to an extent of which the general public has little idea, Scotland is burdened in a manner entirely disproportioned to the number of its population and the extent of its resources, and that it suffers thus from grievances which seriously affect its well being.

In the first branch of our enquiry it will be observed that we point out that the Scottish contribution to the Imperial Exchequer is disproportionately large. Taking the standard of population as our guide, we find that the census of 1881 shewed the population of Scotland to be in the proportion of 10·6 per cent to that of the whole United Kingdom, that of

Ireland 14·6, and that of England and Wales, with the Isle of Man and other small dependencies, to be of 74·8 or nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of the whole. That figure 10·6 per cent., which approaches very closely to the proportion of representation allowed to Scotland in the Lower House of Parliament we shall take as our basis in the calculations which follow. If the fairness of taking population as a basis of reckoning be disputed, we would not object to taking instead the taxation returns of the United Kingdom, in full confidence that our case would thereby be strengthened rather than weakened. But we prefer the weaker ground, partly because we wish to avoid exaggerated estimate, and partly because the excess of taxation per head of its people which Scotland contributes to the Imperial Exchequer over the average for England, is the first point which we desire to bring out.

A Return of the Gross Revenue received from taxation for the year 1884-85, published in April of last year, gives the total for the United Kingdom as £73,908,000, or an average of £2 1s. 1d. per head of population—the proportion yielded by Scotland being £8,826,000, or an average of £2 5s. 8d. per head, while the average for England is only £2 2s. 3d. Comparing these figures, we find that while the population of Scotland is 10·6 per cent. of that of the United Kingdom, the average taxation which it bears is 11·9 per cent. The averages for both England and Scotland are indeed considerably higher than the average for the United Kingdom, the reason being that the average for Ireland is the extremely low figure of £1 11s. 3d. per head. To compare the position of matters between Scotland and England and dealing only with the gross Revenue derived from these portions of the United Kingdom we obtain the following results:—

Gross Revenue derived from England and Scotland, £66,153,000			
"	"	England alone,	- 57,327,000
"	"	Scotland alone,	- 8,826,000

giving percentages of 86·66 for England, and 13·33 for Scotland. To put the matter in another form, Ireland, according to population as in 1881, ought to provide 14·6 per cent of the

gross Revenue of the United Kingdom ; in place of this, she only furnishes 10·5 per cent, leaving the shortcoming of 4·1 per cent to be borne by the sister countries. This burden is unequally borne by the people of England and Scotland in the proportion of 20 per cent and 80 per cent respectively, or 1s. 2d. and 4s. 7d. per head. From the above we find that Scotland contributes to the Imperial Exchequer an annual sum not far short of £900,000 more than the amount proportionate to her population. As taxation is measured by the means of each individual, we of course do not say that the amount is beyond the resources of Scotland, but still in the fact that it contributes, relatively to its population, the largest proportion of the Revenue of the United Kingdom, it is clear that so far the balance of advantage arising from the Union is financially very much on the side of England.

Turning to the second division of our first head, we shall find that Scotland derives relatively small advantage from the expenditure of the vast amount annually raised by taxes levied in the United Kingdom. Following the order in which the expenditure is given in the Budget estimate for the Financial Year to 31st March, 1887, we pass over the annual charge for interest on the National Debt, as that has been incurred, mainly, since the Union ; and though England in 1707 had a debt of some 13 millions, while Scotland had none, and the policy of England has undoubtedly been the principal factor in the accumulation of the present debt, still Scotland accepted joint responsibility for the debt of 1707, bargaining for certain adjustments of taxation which now appear ridiculous in their insignificance, and her representatives have concurred generally in English policy. We shall leave out of account also all Imperial expenditure made abroad, regarding that as equitably apportioned among all parts of the United Kingdom. Neither shall we raise the question of local taxation, in the magnitude of which Scotland is again relatively far ahead of its neighbours, because the objects for which that taxation is raised are of interest to Scotland alone, and the money being spent within that country, on that point no just subject of complaint can arise. We take first the charges on the Consolidated Fund

for the year mentioned on account of the Civil List:—viz., Annuities and Pensions, Salaries and Allowances, Courts of Justice, and Miscellaneous Charges, £1,762,000. The share of this sum which corresponds to the population of Scotland is £186,772; but, tracing as well as we can the actual amount spent in Scotland, we find the following results:—Civil List Annuities and Pensions, *Nil*; Salaries and Allowances, Courts of Justice, and Miscellaneous Charges, £130,926. While the difference of about £50,000 between these sums is a part of the price which Scotland pays for the Union, we admit that the Civil List expenditure is altogether an Imperial matter, and as it must have been fully kept in view as such when the Union was effected, we are not disposed to place much stress upon it. Indeed, it will occur to many that the partiality shown by her present gracious Majesty for Scotland as a place of residence, and the expenditure occasioned thereby, fully compensates it for any loss under this head. The liking of the Queen for her Highland home, however, is merely a temporary circumstance, which may cease to operate when some other Sovereign succeeding her may prefer, let us suppose, to live in Ireland.

The Army and Navy charges in the Budget for 1886-1887 together absorbed the large sum of £31,226,000, in sums of nearly 18½ and 13 millions respectively. It is a matter, not only difficult but altogether impossible, to ascertain exactly what share of these large sums directly benefits Scotland in the manner in which England is benefitted. It is not, however, at all difficult to discover that that share, whatever it may amount to, is entirely out of proportion to the importance of Scotland as a portion of the United Kingdom. Excluding the charges for auxiliary and reserve forces, and non-effective services, of which we may assume that Scotland receives its full share, the total estimate for military services for 1886-87 was about thirteen and a half millions, or to be exact, £13,518,800, providing for an army of 151,868 men, of whom 93,758 officers and men, with 294 field-guns, formed the home force. According to population the proportion of this force to be maintained in Scotland should fall but little short of 10,000 men, but in place

of this, the total number of troops maintained in Scotland in the beginning of 1886, by the expenditure on whom that country benefitted, was only 3987. The meagre nature of the military establishment in Scotland may be gauged by comparison of the number of officers on the general and departmental staff stationed in it, which, out of a total of 1790, reaches the imposing number of a round dozen. As a matter of course the great military educational establishments and arsenals are all situated outside of Scotland. It must not be supposed that we complain that a large and useless expenditure on military show and parade is not kept up in Scotland—this is not at all desired. Scotland has abundantly proved that it is ready to pay its portion of the blood tax, whenever called upon, and freely to spend the lives of its sons in maintaining the honour of the Empire, and in contributing effectually to its stability. The returns which have been obtained of the nationalities of the soldiers composing the British army, show that Scotsmen are in fairly proportionate numbers to Englishmen and Irishmen; and it is all the more creditable to Scotland, that its sons freely enrol themselves under the national flag without being enticed under it by the exhibition of military show and parade, which is so much more abundantly lavished upon the other portions of the United Kingdom.

It is difficult to say what would be a fair sum to name as the deficiency in Scotland's share of the expenditure for military purposes, but that the sum is a large one, the above figures clearly prove,—probably £500,000 would not overstate it, but to keep well within the mark, we shall place it at £300,000.

If the state of matters with regard to expenditure upon the army shows a result such as we have described, it is natural to expect that the expenditure upon the navy will show results still more disadvantageous to Scotland. After making the necessary deductions for services abroad, and a fair allowance for Scotland's share of coast guard services, officers' retired pay and allowances, etc., of which we may assume that a fair portion falls to Scotland and is expended within it, so far as the individual recipients choose to make

that country their residence, and keeping in view, also, that the private enterprise of Scottish builders secures some portion of Government contract work for shipyards on the Clyde, we still find that the great bulk of the expenditure upon Dock-yards, naval and victualling yards, and the provisions for the *materiel* and armament of the fleet goes to the more favoured portion of the Island. As illustrating this fact, we may remind our readers that during the Session of Parliament just ended considerable pressure was applied to the Government by Scottish Members with the view of opening up army and navy contracts to more general competition. As a result of their importunity, there was obtained from the War Office a list of contractors who had up to that time been on the official list, and who had therefore enjoyed the privilege of receiving invitations to tender. The list affords an admirable illustration of the exceeding smallness of the mercies for which it is supposed Scotland cannot be too thankful. Out of several hundreds of names which figure upon it, only *three*, it appears, are those of Scottish traders. Keeping in view facts like this, we do not suppose that any one will say that in naming £200,000 as the deficiency in Scotland's share of Naval Expenditure, we take anything but an extremely low estimate.

Taking next in order the enormous expenditure upon the Civil Services, we find that this in the Budget we have quoted amounted to nearly £18,009,000 divided as follows:—

a. Public works and bridges, - -	£1,860,074
b. Civil departments, - - -	2,476,470
c. Law and Justice, - - -	6,305,534
d. Education, Science, and Art, -	5,442,352
e. Foreign and Colonial Services, -	644,864
f. Non-effective and Charitable Services,	1,239,264
g. Miscellaneous, - - - -	40,133

Making as above, - - £18,008,691

According to population the share of this sum falling to be expended in Scotland should be £1,928,954, or, deducting as Imperial expenditure the entire sum provided for Foreign and

Colonial services, £1,840,598: but so far as information is obtainable, the following is the proportion allocated to Scottish purposes:—

a. Public works and buildings,	-	£109,005
b. Public departments,	- - -	83,784
c. Law and Justice,	- - -	489,852
d. Education, Science, and Art,	-	551,688
e. Foreign Colonial Services,	- -	—
f. Non-effective and Charitable Services,		103,571
g. Miscellaneous,	- - - -	2,403
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		£1,340,303

showing a short-coming of upwards of a half million sterling on this head. The figures given under *d* and *f* will no doubt attract attention from the unwontedly liberal provision made for Scottish wants. Surprise at this liberality will, however, be lessened, when the nature of the charges is examined—the one consisting almost entirely of the Education grant, and the other of the grant for maintenance of lunatic paupers. Both sums are virtually repayments of the proportions of money raised for these purposes by local taxation, and in regard to them, it naturally follows that the better these purposes are attended to by the people of either part of Great Britain, so much the more must they receive in repayment.

For the Customs and Inland Revenue departments we find the provision made in the Budget of 1886-87 to be £2,754,000, or a little more than 2½ millions. Taking the population of Scotland as before at 10·6 per cent. of the whole; the proportion applicable to it is £291,924 or close on £300,000. In place of that sum Scotland receives roughly speaking about £200,000, or a little more than two-thirds of her fair proportion.

The three remaining items of the supply services absorbed in the above Budget the following amounts:—

Post Office,	- - - -	£5,219,000
Telegraph Service,	- - - -	1,845,000
Packet Service,	- - - -	736,000
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or a total of	- -	£7,800,000

Scotland's proportion of which reckoned as above should be £826,800, while the actual sums estimated as required for Scottish purposes are—

Post Office, - - - - -	£470,980
Telegraphic Service, - - - -	116,887
Packet Service, - - - - -	22,197
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	£610,064

or less by upwards of £200,000 than the due proportion according to population.

Recapitulating the results of our enquiry under the first branch of the subject, we find that part from the excess of contribution yielded by Scotland to the Imperial Exchequer, which we have estimated at £900,000 per annum, there is a large deficiency in the amount of public monies expended on Scottish purposes or on Imperial purposes within that country. That deficiency we estimate as follows:—

In Charges borne by Consolidated Fund, say	£30,000
Army expenditure, - - - - -	300,000
Navy, " - - - - -	200,000
Civil Services expenditure, - - - -	450,000
Customs and Inland Revenue, - - -	80,000
Post Office, Telegraph, and Packet Services „	200,000
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Total, - - -	£1,260,000

In a calculation such as this where so much depends on estimate it is easy to err—keeping this in view, where error seems possible we have endeavoured to secure that error should be on the safe side, by understating rather than overstating these deficiencies. The net result appears to be that while Scotland contributes nearly a million sterling in excess of its proportion of taxation according to population, the expenditure from that taxation applicable to it is about a million and a quarter under its fair proportion.

In connection with the second branch of our subject, enquiry will reveal that a good deal exists, if not to qualify our

admiration for the union of the two kingdoms, at least to convince us that Scotland pays a pretty heavy price for the boon, and that the commercial abilities which that measure has undoubtedly developed among Scotchmen to so large an extent had not in 1707 developed sufficiently to enable them to cope with John Bull in driving a bargain. There is, however, little ground for surprise that adequate provision should not at that date have been made for the manifold wants of the kingdom. It was then the day of small things, and only prophetic instinct could have foreseen that the enormous development of the country would necessitate constant recurrence to the Imperial Parliament for authority to carry out the public works and improvements which since then have changed the face of the land. Had the framers of the Treaty foreseen that every Session Parliament would require to deal with scores of applications for legislative authority to construct railways, canals, and bridges, to enable municipalities to lay out enormous sums on city improvements, and for sanction to the thousand and one schemes which, during the present century, have engaged the attention of Scotchmen, we may reasonably think that they would have refrained from imposing upon their country so grievous an obstacle as is placed in the way of progress of every kind, by the necessity which exists for recourse to London for legislative sanction to schemes purely Scotch in object and interest. Without doubt the difficulties and expense entailed by this necessity have strangled in their inception many desirable projects, which might have been brought to a successful issue had the reference required been to a parliament in Edinburgh, composed of Scotchmen understanding the wants of their country, and anxious that these should be properly met.

This necessity for constant recourse to the Imperial Parliament for sanction to purely Scottish business, not only hampers Scottish enterprise, but has also the minor result of virtually levying a heavy pecuniary fine, mainly for the benefit of London parliamentary agents. Of purely Scotch measures we find that since 1877 an average of 22 Local Acts have received parliamentary sanction; but we have no record of the numbers which during the same period have failed to obtain that sanc-

tion, after enormous expenses have been incurred in the endeavour to do so, or which have only obtained it after efforts repeated again and again during many sessions of Parliament.

Such applications to Parliament also affect the rights of many parties who are interested not in promoting, but in opposing them. Both parties alike, however, find themselves compelled to face the trouble and expense of fighting their cases far away from home, and at ruinous expenditure of time and money. That this is a delightful state of matters for the army of London parliamentary agents which the system keeps up, goes without saying; and had the Union been made for their convenience, things, as they stand, could not have been better arranged. The returns obtained by Mr. Craig Sellar for the years 1883-1884-1885, showed that during these years the sums spent by Town Councils, Gas, Water, Tramway, and Canal Companies, and Harbour Commissioners, in promoting Private Bills, was £225,000. But these years were by no means distinguished for extraordinary enterprise, and we may safely assume that the amount quoted does not afford a fair average of the expenditure under this head. Less needs to be said of the expense attending the promotion of, or opposition to, Public Bills, although this is no doubt considerable, owing to the great distance to which deputations, etc., must travel to make support or opposition available.

Another very considerable item of expense occurs in the recourse which must be had to the House of Lords to obtain decisions in cases of appeal from judgments of the Scottish Courts. The average number of such cases during eight years taken at random since 1868 was 22. Those who have had personal experience of the expenses attending the prosecutions of suits at so great a distance from their homes, are only too well able to appreciate the serious nature of the burden; and though that burden is one which does not fall on the general public, but is borne by individuals, it still forms a portion of the price which Scotland pays for parting with its competence to regulate its own domestic concerns. Taking everything into account we shall probably fall considerably short of the actual loss to Scotland entailed by the transfer of

legislative and judicial authority from Edinburgh to London, in estimating it at £150,000 per annum. If mere distance, however, were the only grievance, it might be possible to bear the burden with a certain degree of equanimity, for places remote from the seat of legislature must always be at some disadvantage, as compared with places situated near it. But how shall we qualify the attempts which have been made in quite recent years to subject Scotchmen to the authority of English tribunals, and to increase the influence of English Courts and the gains of English lawyers, by removing the administration of Scottish estates and the prosecution of Scottish suits to the English Courts. A financial article is not the most appropriate place for dealing with an abuse which should be attacked on far higher grounds than that of pounds, shillings and pence; but as desire of gain mingles with greed of power in inducing Englishmen to encroach upon rights and privileges reserved by the Treaty of Union, it is not out of place to point out here that every encroachment of this nature adds to the pecuniary loss which Scotland has borne for many years with amazing patience.

We come now to the third branch of our enquiry, which is at the same time the most important and the most difficult, namely, the loss which Scotland suffers through the withdrawal and diversion to England of so much of the expenditure of the wealthiest classes, and, especially, of the landed aristocracy, which has followed as a consequence of the Union of the Kingdoms and the transfer of the Legislature from Edinburgh to London. This, in our view, is the heaviest price which Scotland has paid for the Union with England, and forms a weighty offset to the blessings which have flowed from it, at however high a value these may be rated. It is a price too, of which the pecuniary amount, though vast, is the least considerable portion. Before we have done we shall point out some other considerations entering into the subject, but as it is with pecuniary results we have mainly to deal, we shall attend to these in the first place.

From a 'domesday' book published a few years ago we may, without guaranteeing the absolute accuracy of the figures,

take the following as the annual income of the nobility and titled commoners of Scotland so far as derived from real estate situated in that country:—

Dukes, - - - - -	£698,699
Marquesses, - - - - -	192,784
Earls, - - - - -	1,007,326
Viscounts, - - - - -	36,934
Barons, - - - - -	398,627
Baronets, - - - - -	855,763
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	£3,190,133

The total value of lands in Scotland assessed to income tax for the year 1885 was about $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, so that the proportion of gross revenue from real estate in the hands of the classes included in the above table may be taken roughly at three-sevenths of the whole.

Of these classes a large proportion, and that among the wealthiest of their number, reside for a considerable part of the year in London in order to discharge the duties incumbent upon them as members of the Upper House of Parliament. Most of them are adherents of a Church which is not that of the mass of the Scottish people, and look to England for the education of their children; thus enhancing the prestige of English schools and universities, while Scotland sees with regret her schools of higher education, deprived of the presence of the class which ought to be their support and mainstay, dwindle and fall into disrepute.

The centre of social attraction which was formerly situated in Scotland being removed elsewhere, that portion of the community, which from its circumstances is not bound to the soil, naturally and inevitably gravitates towards that centre as the tidal wave with everything that floats upon it follows the moon. Everything Scottish falls out of prevailing fashion, is regarded as provincial, and is rigorously shunned by the very class which ought to feel the greatest pride in its nationality and to do its utmost to maintain and uphold it. An English gentleman in his own country, let him be ever

so highly privileged by rank, feels himself surrounded by Englishmen who, equally with himself, cherish every memory with which he has been associated from his youth upwards. The Scottish gentleman, on the contrary, returns from his English school or university an Englishman in everything excepting perhaps recognition as such by his class-mates, and with habits and manners and aspirations which often render him a stranger among his own people. In this way it is not surprising that Scotland should be, to a large extent, deserted by the very class which owes most to it—its wealth, its importance, its dignity, rank, and privileges—and that the curse of absenteeism, with its train of attendant evils, becomes so prominent as to form a source of real danger both to the country and to the higher classes themselves. We may be sure that with a people so democratically minded as the Scotch, the alienation from their country shewn by the higher orders will one day be repaid by a right cordial dislike, and in time be visited upon the heads of their successors. This alienation of the Scottish aristocracy from their country is no new phenomenon; it showed itself immediately after the Union, to an extent of which the following extract from Wodrow, written in 1731, will give some idea:—

‘I find it observed, that, very soon, Scotland must be drained of money, in specie, and really it is a wonder any almost is left with us. Indeed, except it be coals, and that is a trifle, linen cloth, and black cattle, which may bring in a little, we have scarce any other branch of trade that brings in money to us in specie. Add to this, that there is £24,000 yearly in the Civil List and Crown Rents which is carried away, after all pensions, posts, garrisons, and officers, are paid, and what a prodigious quantity of money is every year expended by every family of any rank, for body clothes of English or foreign produce! and to this may be added that the greatest estates in Scotland, in land rent, are all taken out to England in specie—Buccleuch, Roxburghe, Argyle, Montrose, Queensberry, etc., etc.,—besides members of Parliament who spend at least more than they get.’

That this alienation so graphically described by Wodrow

has not ceased to operate, but continues in our day to an increased extent, is abundantly clear. To what extent it pecuniarily affects Scotland it is impossible to define with anything like precision, but we shall probably be under, rather than over, the mark in estimating that from the causes above referred to, and others similar, a full third of the income of the Scottish aristocracy is spent outside Scotland; that is, more than a million sterling of the produce of her unfruitful soil. So vast a result as this could not in the nature of things have been conceived possible in 1707. But, after all, the mere loss of money is an inconsiderable part of the evil compared to the loosening of the ties which should unite the higher with the lower ranks of the community; for it has ever been found that the affection and respect of the people is a much more precious possession than the wealth which their labour places in the hands of their natural leaders. Though hard to eradicate from their minds, these feelings of affection and respect once lost are hardly ever to be regained, and their loss will certainly entail sooner or later heavy penalties upon the numerically weaker party. But the loss to Scotland does not stop short at this point. The example of the aristocracy tells powerfully upon the class immediately beneath them, the untitled gentry who are the possessors of the greater portion of the remainder of the soil, who, descended from the same stock, or for generations associated with them, share the feelings and sympathies of their titled brethren, and who follow the mode of living of the higher classes as closely as their rank and means will permit, but to whom fortunately circumstances do not as a rule allow full freedom to disengage themselves from the ties which bind them to their native country. This class is therefore, to a large extent, still closely associated with the people, retains their confidence and takes a leading part in the management of county and, in rural districts, even parochial matters. But neither does the example of the higher classes fail to affect, to some extent, the classes whom commerce has enriched, and who, day by day, by mere force of wealth—the result of successful enterprise—force themselves to the front, and take the place of those whom expensive habits, often the result of con-

tact with southern neighbours have compelled to part with their patrimony. Among these classes is divided the bulk of the remainder of the real property of Scotland, and we may not unfairly assume that of the revenues, derived from real property in Scotland belonging to its untitled gentry, another million is thus diverted from the country which, had it remained an independent kingdom, would have been spent within it. Large, however, as is the annual revenue from real property, it is far and away exceeded by that derived from other sources, and though, proportionally, a much smaller part of this revenue can be, or at any rate is, expended outside the country, a very large sum must be added to our estimate, as given above, in order to represent fully the vast amount of Scotch money which the absorption of Scotland by England causes to flow into the larger country, without corresponding benefit to the smaller.

We find, then, on reviewing the results which, however imperfectly, we have endeavoured to deduce from our enquiry, that Scotland contributes to the Imperial Exchequer a sum not far short of a million pounds sterling in excess of the proportion which corresponds to its population, but say £900,000; that of the expenditure of the general taxation of the United Kingdom, there is applied to Scottish purposes a sum less than that to which it is fairly entitled in proportion to its population by £1,250,000; that the transference of the seat of legislature to London causes an annual extra expenditure in connection with local objects which may be very moderately estimated at £150,000; and that that transference and the Union of Scotland with England causes a withdrawal from the former country of expenditure from private revenue which would otherwise directly benefit it, which must amount to many millions annually, but which may be moderately stated at £2,000,000, making an annual total of upwards of four millions sterling—or about a pound per head per annum for the whole population of Scotland.

We have endeavoured, where reasonable ground of doubt existed, to keep our estimates under the mark, and largely so; but even were it otherwise, and that our estimates require

large abatements to bring them into strict conformity with reality, it can hardly fail to be admitted that even the diminished total would show that an enormous sum is annually provided by Scotland as the price which it pays for its Union with England.

This price, large as it is, excessive as some may deem it, would we doubt not be ungrudgingly paid, could it be shewn that the result is in all respects mutually advantageous; but if, as we have incidentally endeavoured to show, the Union is, to a large extent, accountable for the denationalization and alienation of the higher classes—for vexations, delays, and positive hindrance to legislation necessary or advantageous to Scotland—and for much practical injustice to its people, the price will not continue to be paid as heretofore in blind confidence in its fairness. The Union has been extolled in times past as the highest effort which Britain has seen of good and wise and patriotic statesmanship—as such, we would wish it in our power to view it, and into such we hope it may yet develop; but veneration for the treaty of Union need not and will not prevent the Scottish people from insisting that their rights shall be better respected in the future than they have been in the past. What the result to Scotland would be were the golden shower, the product of the toil of its hardy and industrious sons, poured upon it which rises only to descend upon other lands, it is easy to perceive—native industries would thrive which are not now encouraged—population would increase in rural districts, now being steadily and rapidly depopulated—Scottish national feeling would revive, and Scotland would rise from the position of a subordinate and little regarded province of England, as it virtually is under present arrangements, to that of a kingdom administering freely its own domestic affairs, and sharing, according to its population, wealth and importance, in the management of the Imperial concerns of the British Empire.

ART. II.—SALVATORE FARINA.

IF Manzoni is entitled to be called the Italian Sir Walter Scott, the author whose name we have placed above may be still more fitly called the Italian Dickens. It is hazardous perhaps to institute parallels between writers of countries so widely differing as England and Italy, yet on none of his own countrymen does the mantle of Charles Dickens seem so distinctly to have descended, as on this Sardinian, whose works are, we believe, almost, if not quite, unknown in England. But before passing to a detailed account of Farina's novels, a short biographical account of their author will not be out of place, as, besides the personal interest in him which his writings are calculated in an eminent degree to awaken, the key to much that we find in his books is contained in the history of his life. He himself has lately told us—

‘I was born at Sorso, in the province of Sassari in Sardinia, in 1846. I commenced my studies at Sassari, where I had reached the classes of Rhetoric, when my father, who was one of the higher magistrates, was transferred in 1860 to Casale, in the province of Monferrato, whither I accompanied him, and entered the Lyceum there. I afterwards studied law at the Universities of Pavia and Turin, where, on August 3rd, 1868, I took my degree. On September 3rd of the same year I was married to my Christina (who was a widow, with two children by her first marriage), and settled at Milan as a novel writer. At that time great courage was necessary for an undertaking which promised neither bread nor renown—but it was my destiny. At Milan I worked hard, not as a lawyer, but as an author. They were thirteen years of indescribable struggle, in which, however, I was comforted by the birth of three children, all of whom are alive and well at the present moment. The eldest, Agostino, is now sixteen and a half, Antonietta, the second, nearly fifteen, and the youngest, Laurina, only twelve years old. One of my wife's children by her first marriage, is already an officer in the Infantry, the other, Laura, died shortly after her mother married me. In 1882, I had the misfortune to lose my Cristina by consumption. For thirteen years she had shared all my struggles for existence, had been the witness of my feverish literary excitement, my adviser and friend, in short, my all in all. After her death, I was obliged to put my children to a boarding school, and thus remained alone myself; this was the cause of the melancholy which seized me, and which, joined to excess of work and grief, produced the strange malady which in February,

1884, deprived me of speech, and even of the memory of words (*amnesia verbale*). I have now at length entirely recovered from it, and if I mistake not, there is no danger of its repeating itself. As to my character, much has been written in Italian and foreign periodicals concerning it. A deep melancholy, love of solitude, and of children, are perhaps the chief characteristics.

Turning from this slender, and remarkably modest biographical notice to the novels, it is interesting to observe many accidental and more intentional points of coincidence. In several of his earlier works, Farina describes pathetically the death of a beloved wife as if in presentiment of his own bereavement, and still more decided touches from his own life are to be found in the others. Epaminondas Placidi, a lawyer, and the father in the domestic novel *Mio Figlio*, (My Son), may be regarded almost as a portrait of the author; nor is it by chance that the two children in this book are named Agostino and Laurina, after his own son and youngest daughter. The melancholy which Farina confesses to, is certainly diffused very largely over all his earlier works, and though in a measure overcome by the prevailing humouristic tone in those of a later date, it reappears with a deeper and fuller meaning in those of the series bearing the motto, *We Die*. Nor can any one doubt of Farina's love for children, who has made acquaintance with his writings, as we shall have occasion to note when examining them more minutely.

The novels of this author, eighteen in number, may be divided by style and character into three classes, representing three different stages of development. The first class includes the five earlier works—and perhaps we may also add a later one, *Capelli Biondi*, (Fair Hair)—in which a distinctly French influence is visible. Passionate, sentimental, and often sensual love, is the sole motive, and the humorous characters and situations are completely subordinate to this one idea. In the second category, we would place most of the works written during the last ten years, which, with great variety of subject and treatment, remind us by the humour and tenderness in the conception and delineation of the personages, so irresistibly of Dickens. The key-note to the works of the third class is a certain mysticism, a striving to penetrate into the secrets of the unknown. Traces

of this may indeed be found in many of Farina's earliest novels; but it reveals itself more clearly and characteristically in those bearing the motto, *We Die*, which appeared after the death of his wife, when the desolation of his home had brought him face to face, with the deeper problems of human life.

Farina's début as a novelist hardly promised the success he has now achieved. His two first works, *Due Amori* (Two Loves), and *Il Segreto* (The Secret), are melancholy and sentimental in their tone, and slow even to tediousness in their development. Nor is there a trace in these two novels of the humour, which afterwards became such a distinguishing characteristic of their author; neither is there any character-drawing, worth so calling, in them. The personages seem pale reflections of the French school, from which the situations are also apparently borrowed, notably in the second story. More power is visible in Farina's third novel *Frutti Proibiti* (Forbidden Fruit), where an original character is imparted to the almost French treatment by the author's own genius, and the moral of the whole, that the worst punishment for evil-doing may lie in its seeming success, is one far beyond the reach of most of his prototypes. The hero, Riccardo (the 'professional lover' as the author terms him), has more active power for evil than those of the first two novels, more passion and less sentiment. The list of the relics of his first love—ninety-six letters and forty-eight dried flowers—which he restores to the faithless Camilla on her marriage with a more fortunate rival, is not followed by any subsequent touches of humour, if we except the figure of Biagio with his horticultural mania, though here it seems forced and unnatural, when compared with those of his later works. Another characteristic note is struck in the introduction of parental affection, as the harmonizing and reconciling element in the discords of life, an idea which in one form or another, recurs in almost all Farina's novels.

Il Romanzo d'un Vedovo (The Romance of a Widower), is the title of the next work. It is inferior to *Forbidden Fruit*, at least in its present form, for the preface to the last edition of the latter story, tells us that it has been revised and partly recast, as we now read it. A duel, which is a favourite catastrophe in the

earlier novels, occurs here also, and results in the warmest friendship between the combatants. The story is otherwise destitute of events, and less artistically constructed than its predecessor.

The first decided success, Farina himself tells us, was achieved by his next novel, *Il Tesoro di Donnina* (Donnina's Fortune), which was first published in 1873. As a tale, it is much superior to all its forerunners, nor is it devoid of considerable imaginative power. The description of Christmas in the Lunatic Asylum, in the opening chapters, has already something of the ring of Dickens in it, who might indeed have been proud to add to the list of his creations, the golden-haired, blue-eyed Olympia, still divided between her affection for her father, her love for her doll, and her romantic worship of the melancholy medical student, who has bestowed his heart elsewhere, and regards her as a mere child. The sketch of Donnina's adoptive parents, and the village school is full of tenderness and humour, and in many respects this work contains a promise of much that is best in Farina's later novelettes.

The next novel, *Amore Bendato* (Blind Love), is skilfully constructed as to plot, and psychologically interesting as a transitional work, where some French influence is still to be traced, combined with much entirely peculiar to the author's own genius. Ernesta, the heroine, is one of the feminine characters Farina especially delights in, warm-hearted and sensitive, with a tender imagination and ideal views of persons and things, rendering her intolerant towards those whose aspirations are more commonplace. The first two chapters contain skilful portraiture of the two principal characters, and Ernesta's account of her courtship and marriage, its illusions and dreams, too soon to be broken by the dreary monotony of the unappreciative companionship of a husband, unwilling to renounce for her sake a single custom of his bachelor-life, is well imagined and described. Very skilfully too is the idea indicated in the title, *Blind Love*, carried out through the seemingly loveless relationship of the husband and wife to the discovery, when the husband is afflicted with blindness, of the true state of their affections.

It is to be regretted that in this book, full of good work and poetical beauty, the author should have adopted the Frenchified

episode of Doctor Agenore, who while undertaking to mediate between the estranged couple, falls in love himself and ends by pleading his own suit. There is however considerable humour in the doctor's portrait, who, when sympathy and pity for his friend in his deep affliction enable him to triumph over his ignoble impulses, supplies the one link needed to rivet the chain of affection between Leonardo and Ernesta. Besides the dramatic interest of the story, there is much good description, in which the beauty and harmony of nature is used to reconcile and soothe the conflicts of the human mind. An extract from one of the opening chapters, when Ernesta is just awaking to a sense of the void in her life, will best exhibit this :—

‘It was the dawn of day. It was that brief period in which sleep and life, silence and sound, darkness and light, seem to mingle.

A thread of pale light, accompanied by the fresh breath of morning entered the window ; the air was stirred by the first notes of a grand concert which would presently burst out in full force from the old horse-chestnut tree in the garden. Sundry small performers, with swelling throat, impatiently practised the most difficult trills. But in spite of much flitting hither and thither of little birds, much fluttering of benumbed wings, in spite of the intermittent songs, and of the soft whispering of the foliage, there still remained something of nocturnal silence in the air.

‘Ernesta, for an instant tried to follow from the window the flight of her little friend (a very docile and taciturn familiar spirit), but not being able to see the direction it took, she almost immediately abandoned her gaze into the clouds, and turned her eyes and thoughts to the earth, the garden, and the chestnut tree.

‘This garden was to her a whole world ; a world peopled by gay and innocent creatures, over whose heads the wing of a kite never hovered. The horse-chestnut was a conservatory, which produced the most beautiful voices and the best singers in the universe ; a nightingale was the president, and a starling voluntary undertook the office of director.

‘Ernesta, for a moment forgetful of her griefs, remained immoveable, listening to a beautiful descriptive symphony. This May morning had a hundred light and cool fingers wherewith to caress her brow, her cheeks, her eyes tired with watching ; the sparrows wished her “good morning” in chorus ; and the heartless swallows, flying so close as almost to brush her with their wings, uttered a cry of welcome mixed with a touch of fear. The young wife had the acuteness of the senses proper to fantastic and nervous natures ; the twittering of the swallows seemed to her full of attractions, she was persuaded that they cried “farewell” in passing, and she breathed in response a low “farewell,” so as not to cause the hearts of

the little choir, already frightened at their own audacity, to beat too violently. Then she leaned out of the window to look up at another swallow, which was hanging to its nest under the leaves, and regarding her earnestly.

"Little by little, other voices were added to the concert, and the symphony acquired its greatest strength. Ernesta could not leave the window ; her protracted wakefulness had still more sharpened her senses ; she heard, or seemed to hear, new words, unknown accents ; and when the starling perched on the topmost bough of the chestnut, began a song that drowned all the other voices, it seemed to her that he sang to her alone, and had something important to tell her. She drew a chair into the recess of the window and listened for some time with closed eyes, every now and then bending her head as if in assent. Finally, after sighing "yes" for the last time, her head sank on her breast and she fell asleep. . . ."

A favourite idea of the author's, and one which frequently recurs in other works, is here enunciated, viz., communion with the spirits of the dead whom we have loved when on earth. Ernesta is recalled to a sense of her danger when listening to the insidious words of Dr. Agenore by the song of a bird, in whom she fancies she recognises a messenger from her dead mother to warn the erring daughter from the pitfall at her feet.

"For the first time since experiencing these matrimonial disillusiones, the question of the future appeared to Ernesta in a new form. Bound by the ties of decorum to the man who had released her of his own accord from the odious claims of the codex, what did she owe to him who had been her husband, and whose name she still bore ? Nothing, nothing. A clear and decided voice, spontaneous as an instinct, a voice that could not deceive her, repeated contemptuously : "Nothing, nothing ; to make a nest of one's house is the very essence of a happy marriage ; all else is pretence, formula, a mere apparatus for adding solemnity to the galling of the chain. Turn your back on the nest, leave the couch cold and solitary that should be warmed by love, and you owe nothing to each other, you are free ; if Leonardo be dead for you, must you reduce yourself to a monastic life, and never more palpitate with affection, lest you should tarnish his respected name ? And what name ? That of a rich vagabond, who idles his time away at the coffee-house or the club, who yawns and sleeps, and sups with ballet-girls ! Ah ! to be sure ! Society would be wounded to the heart if you dared to profane such an honoured name, such a precious life."

"Ernesta passed her hand across her brow ; Agenore smiled at her like an expectant mendicant. But the reproachful voice of conscience, interrupting the echo from the world, reached her ear, "Ah ! you are not a debtor to Leonardo, but to yourself !"

"Certainly," continued the mocking voice, "in the name of virtue you owe to yourself a slow torment; force yourself, conquer your longings, contract your heart as if with a vice; cut your nerves, breathe ice into your veins; forget that you are only twenty, and that at twenty one loves, and that beauty is a gift to attract love:—this is what you owe to yourself. You must teach your mental fire and your bright smile to hide themselves, or only to kindle in eyes that blaze in solitude and fade for want of nourishment. If you have too much leisure, it will make time pass to occupy it in mock love-fights in the fencing-school of flirtation. You are young, beautiful, ardent, fantastic. You must learn to accustom your youth to a precious senility, to make a monster of your beauty, a toy of your vanity, to give fire the semblance of ice, and imagine a life beyond the world that does not resemble this one. Then you will be respected, honoured, esteemed, and men and women will repeat your name at noisy banquets, as that of an ascetic, who is fit to be a model—to others."

'Again Ernesta passed her hand across her brow, and Agenore still smiled.

"Fool! to laugh and suffer, to doubt and fear while you mock at your doubts and fears. No, you owe nothing to the man who has abandoned you; nothing to the world which indifferently tyrannizes over you; and to yourself you owe only life, love, and youth. You were not born to consume yourself in solitude; to wither away in the aridity of your heart, to cripple your nature in vain contemplation. You are beautiful. Look round, a hundred desirous eyes tell you so; seek a wholesome heart; choose a man from among the childish, factious, silly crowd; and cry to the world without a blush "It is he! It is he!"

'For the first time Ernesta's eyes met those of Dr. Agenore with a certain fear. He continued to smile at her like an expectant mendicant. . . .

'But a shrill voice, more a whistle than a voice, all at once sounded from the summit of a Magnolia-tree, twice; thrice; persistently. And while Dr. Agenore only heard single notes repeated by a starling, Ernesta distinctly heard these words:—"Not he! Not he!"

'She rose to her feet with a transfigured face, a prey to profound emotion. She made a sign to Agenore to be silent, and her eyes sought her winged counsellor in the midst of the green foliage, until she perceived him. "Not he! Not he!" repeated the starling, as he flew away to join his companions, who were whirling round and round like a cloud.

"It is singular," said Ernesta, thoughtfully, "just as at Milan!"

"What is singular?" asked Agenore, with a touch of ill-temper at this frivolous resolving of the situation.

'Ernesta did not reply.

'An hour after she took leave of the doctor with infinite civility, recommending him to make haste to reach Bellagio before night-fall.'

Farina's next publication was an unpretending little volume containing three short tales, *A Separation from Bed and Board*,

The Family of Signor Onorati, and A Happy Man. In themselves but slight magazine-sketches, they are yet so delicately and lovingly touched in, that we must acknowledge their author a master of pathos and humour. The second is especially charming, an idyl in prose, and Farina himself seems to have felt this and been unwilling to part with its characters, for he has introduced some of them into a later novelette.

A more ambitious effort is the *Fante di Picche* (Knave of Spades), which may be considered the first in which a distinctly Dickensian character displays itself. It might indeed have been written for a Christmas number of *Household Words* without any discrepancy of style or character. Love-making plays here a subordinate part, the real passion portrayed being that of gambling. The night in which Donato loses, and at the same time gains his all, is powerfully described, and recalls at every turn the master's hand, in whose very spirit the character of Uncle Martin is imagined and portrayed. We give an abridged extract from it:—

‘Encouraged by a courteous sign and affectionate smile, Donato placed his cigar between his teeth, took up the Knave of Spades, and shuffled it into the pack, very badly copying the indifferent air which had so much pleased him in his adversary.

‘It was a mercy that Signor Asdrubale, who was intent on smoothing the creases in the breast of his coat, cut the cards without looking up, otherwise he would have noticed that the hands of the student of mathematics were trembling, and that he grew pale. . . . The room is very hot, Donato is bathed in perspiration, his partner quietly offers him his revenge—and wins again. The heat becomes oppressive. There remain only 149 francs in the student's purse, the rest have disappeared into Signor Asdrubale's Russia-leather abyss. Shortly after this abyss re-opens, and the 149 francs go to join their fellows.

‘The end of the Havannah which has cost him 350 francs falls from Donato's lips; he feels quite weak; drops of perspiration start upon his brow and roll down his face. He might serve as a model for a picture of misfortune. What is he to do, now that he has not even the wherewithal to try his luck once more?

‘Signor Asdrubale, who has just finished taking up his money, turns a smiling face to the young man, and hands him the cards, saying in a monotonous accent that seems ferocious.

“Your revenge!”

‘The game is continued on credit. The stake is 100 francs, which Donato

wins. He is enraged at not having risked more and plays 250 francs. His adversary offers to change the card, but Donato refuses, plays and plays again, losing always and rushing blindly to his ruin.

'The cards pass from one to the other; once; twice; thrice; but the Knave of Spades continues faithful to Signor Asdrubale.

'Ah! what an ugly idea crosses Donato's mind! He tries to shake it off, but the dark suspicion remains.

"Take care," says his partner, looking fixedly at him, "to-day the Knave of Spades is fond of me; choose another card."

'Donato feels that he is found out and blushes deeply, but is it his fault that he is suspicious? He has heard so much. There are people it is said, so clever. . . . The least he can do is to say immediately "No sir, one must be obstinate in play."

'He wins and revives; he doubles his stake, and loses. Certainly Signor Asdrubale holds Fortune by the bridle and leads her whither he will.

"I will accept your advice," stammered the student, "I choose the Ace of Diamonds and double the stake."

'His short adversary signs consent and pauses to note down his last winnings in his pocket-book. The cards are dealt. Donato stupidly contemplates the Knave of Spades in his hand. It seems as if the card obeyed some secret enemy, for first it was spiteful, and now it mocks him. He looks at it intently; he feels as if he would like to tear it to pieces, to murder it. Strange ideas cross his confused mind, and he has a vision. Fixing his eyes on the small figure of this little knave he notices a family likeness to his fortunate adversary; in imagination he takes away the breast-plate of the one and puts it on to the other; the two are confounded in a single figure; they have both petulant and withered faces, they both wink their eyes, and the buttoned coat of the one seems cut out by the hand that fashioned the black doublet of the other.

'But now there pass before him, like benignant phantoms, the figures of his white-haired father, of his gentle sister, of his beloved Constance. In thought he abandons for an instant these fatal walls and once more wanders over the dewy fields of the Sambro, ascends the steep hill, and re-creates in his mind's eye all the well-known features of that nocturnal scene. There are the dark swaying trees, the long rows of acacias, and the high road that runs through the darkness like a grey ribbon. There are the stars twinkling in a black sky, the scattered and slowly moving clouds, and the amphitheatre of the mountains, outlined in the obscurity; nothing is missing, in this living picture, not even the intermittent chorus of the mocking frogs.

'But he loses; Fortune is not appeased; she smiles an instant, impresses upon him a lightning hope, which renders him more venturesome, and flies away.

'Signor Asdrubale, hitherto buttoned up and quiet, grows restless, looks about him, seems uneasy; he has the air of wishing to say something, and

not knowing how to begin. Finally he unbuttons his coat, draws a silk handkerchief from his ample pocket, and seems to dry the perspiration on his brow. To look at him you would imagine he had just finished some hard task ; but he is only in great embarrassment.

"Oh ! I say," he finally exclaims, squeezing his handkerchief between his hands to gain courage, "this won't do ; I can't go on ; you have lost all you have. I don't say that you are not solvent enough for double the amount, for you are almost an engineer, and talented engineers, as Master Bruscoli says, can turn everything into gold. This is very probable, but still it is hypothetical ; it has no real foundation !"

'He interrupts himself to give Donato a chance to speak, but Donato looks at him stupidly and remains silent. Then Signor Asdrubale begins again, lowering his voice as if communicating a secret.

"I wish to give you an opportunity to regain what you have lost. I have played for your future inheritance, and run some risk, because, which heaven forbid, you might reverse the natural order of things ; die by accident, you understand ; but at least there was a foundation. We have now arrived at the utmost limit, and if we persist in playing it would be building castles in the air." He interrupts himself again, and then resumes in a compassionate tone, "You will not doubt that I am sorry to see you lose in this way ; it is a piece of misfortune without parallel !—Well, listen, to show you that I do not wish to abuse the situation, I will accept another stake, only one more ; should Fortune favour you, and allow you to retrace your path, you will at least not be able to say that I barred the way !"

'Ah ! Donato breathes again ! "I accept," he cries, and adds, as if obeying an imperative impulse, "but this time he who has the Knave of Spades loses."

'It is the last wager, as precarious as the first ; in it lies a menace of evil without remedy ; it is the last word of ill-fate. The young man shuffles, cuts, deals, does everything, his adversary making no objection.

'After a little while, "Poor fellow !" says Asdrubale ; "you have got no luck. I positively have not got the Knave of the Spades. I have hunted for it, but really have not got it ! Poor fellow !"

'Saying these words he notes down his new gains, gathers his cards together, thrusts them into his pocket, and buttons up his coat from top to bottom for the last time.

'Donato neither sees nor hears, remains immoveable, stupified, his eyes fixed on the eyes of the Knave of Spades, with its petulant face, its black doublet, and its metallic breastplate.'

If any defect is to be noticed in this story, it is that as in all the earlier works of the writer, the female characters are drawn in a weaker and more shadowy style than the men, who are so ready to be enslaved by them. Donato falls in love with the precipitation and unreservedness of the heroes in the author's

first novels, but there is little in the sketch of Costanza which imparts any decided personality or character to her figure.

Less successful from an artistic point of view is Farina's next literary production, *Capelli Blondi* (Fair Hair). It is a work of considerable but unequal power, for the author's strength does not lie in depicting dangerously fascinating and demoniacal women, and his genius cannot be forced where it is not seconded by nature. It is to be hoped that he has himself felt this, since in none of his subsequent works has he returned to the style which in the earlier stage of his literary development possessed such an attraction for him.

We turn with a feeling of relief, as from a certain artificial and unnatural strain, to the charming little sketch *Un Tiranno ai Bagni di Mare* (An Actor at the Sea-side). A tragedian has taken the management of a strolling company of marionettes at a little sea-side village, for the double purpose of giving his little sickly step-child a chance of health, and turning the dead season of the year to profitable account. The personages of the little drama are presented to us in a most delicately drawn and attractive picture, where humour never lapses into mere farce. Two of the principal characters of *Signor Onorati's Family* re-appear on the scene in a secondary manner, but this can only be a welcome addition to the interest of the story for those who have already made their acquaintance.

The next work bearing the title *Dalla Spuma del Mare* (From the Sea-foam), leads us into the studio of an artist, whose chef-d'œuvre is so called. Almost as appropriate a title would be *Our Neighbours*, for the story relates the efforts of the narrator and his wife to discover the mystery surrounding their neighbour on the first floor, whom they discover to be an old friend with a complicated love affair. There is much of the lively and natural conversation in which Farina so excels in this book, but the plot is intricate and rather difficult to unravel, and to our taste the little touches which reveal the domestic interior of *Myself and my Wife*, are even more interesting than those referring to the more involved fate of the real hero and heroine.

Oro Nascosto (Hidden Gold) is one of the longest and best of Farina's novels. The title has a double signification, alluding to

the hidden good which may underlie the roughest surface, and the discovery of a coal-mine on the estate of the hero, just when he was supposed to be bankrupt. Much in these *Scenes of Burgher Life*, as they are further described in a second title, shows more of an original vein of purer comedy than any of the other works, and they might certainly be put on the stage with good effect. The characters are most humourously imagined and drawn, and the principal idea is well carried out. The surly, old Dr. Rocco, tyrannizing over his family and friends by means of his infirmities, yet cherishing in his heart such a tender and warm interest in his daughter's happiness; the two old friends and faithful gossips, Gioachino and Romolo, whose constant endeavour to make the course of true love between the young people run smooth, is as constantly marred by the humours and vagaries of the lovers themselves; Tranquillina with her calm, sweet influence, more felt than seen; the impulsive girl, Amalia, unconscious of her own heart for so long, and the rivals, Federico and Enea,—are all creations true to nature and life, whom we follow with sincere interest in the tortuous path of their perplexities, to a happy and satisfactory ending.

Mio Figlio (My Son), which next appeared has gained for Farina the hearty appreciation of the Germans, to whom it was made known by a good translation published in the *Deutsche Rundschau*. As a domestic novel it can hardly be surpassed, though it is a little too prolix in the opening chapters for English taste, and indeed some abridgement was thought necessary before presenting it to the German public, who are more patient novel-readers than ourselves.

It may be considered as typical of one aspect of its author's genius, and has a special interest for us from its autobiographical character. Where so much that is described coincides with the circumstances of Farina's life, we may venture to infer that, as a whole, this series of novelettes, (published separately at first and only subsequently united into one work), gives us a faithful picture of that happy home life, which was the recompense for so much that was hard and arduous in the writer's career. It would be injustice to him not to give some example of the exquisite humour and graphic delineation we meet with on every

page of this book. Surely every father will testify to the truth of the following scene, where the school-boy Agostino has his first doubts awakened as to the parental infallibility :—

‘My children’s education had not yet led me into trouble, and I believed it perfectly harmless. The air of a well-informed little man that Agostino assumed when he came home from school had caused me neither mistrust nor suspicion ; on the contrary, I was rather pleased, and encouraged him with much paternal eloquence. “Study hard, my dear boy,” I said solemnly ; “study hard if you want to become a *man*.”

‘This phrase had no need of comment, because, in my son’s eyes, I had been a man for some time, but Evangelina thought it necessary to add, “Copy your papa, study hard, and you will grow up like him.” “Shall I also be an advocate ?” “No doubt,” I interposed, “and you will have a host of clients, and become famous.”

“Are you famous ?”

“I should think so indeed !”

‘This enormous lie was uttered by my wife.

“How many books must I study so as to become famous ?”

“Oh ! a great many.”

“And the Historical Compendium too ?”

“That of course.”

“And must I know it all by heart.”

“Certainly.”

‘Without knowing it I had committed the greatest mistake I had ever made as a father. Agostino left the room full of thought, and the very same evening I heard him sing-singing a lesson in the adjoining room, reading some passage over and over again with unusual care, and then trying to repeat it by heart, making mistakes, correcting himself and beginning again, always in a kind of sing-song.

“Darius, king of Persia, son of Hystaspes, also called Ahasuerus, determined to choose a wife from the most virtuous—Darius, king of Persia, son of Hystaspes, also called—(pause)—also called—(pause)—Darius, king of Persia, son of Hystaspes, also called Ahasuerus, desired to choose a wife from among the most virtuous and beautiful—.”

‘And I, ignorant of my sad fate, rubbed my hands with glee, and did not even think of asking myself what virtuous and beautiful woman Darius had taken to wife, whom my son could not remember.

“It will come,” I thought ; “Agostino is as persevering as his father ; we shall see that Darius will yield, and be taken prisoner with all his suite.”

‘Unfortunately for me, there were persons in the suite of Darius whose names I had not heard mentioned for a long time, and at that moment it did not occur to me that it would be prudent to refresh my memory.

‘The following day Agostino met me with a self-satisfied air. “I know it all,” he cried from a distance.

"All what?" I asked.

"On which he immediately began, "Darius, king of Persia, son of Hystaspes, also called Ahasuerus—."

"But I had a melancholy client at my heels, whom I was about to send to the Court of Appeal, so, in spite of all my good will, I had no time to make Agostino happy by listening to him.

"But the gloomy face of my client had no sooner disappeared from my study-door than, lower down in the opening, there appeared the mischievous face of my boy. "Well," I said, opening my arms, into which he sprang with a leap as usual, "what about Darius, son of Hystaspes, otherwise called Ahasuerus?" Agostino said nothing; he was too full of knowledge. "Well," I insisted, impelled by my evil destiny, "he wanted to choose a wife; did he find one?"

"You know very well that he found one."

"It was only now that I perceived the abyss, to the edge of which my imprudence had led me; because, alas! I knew nothing at all about it; I had totally forgotten. I felt I was at my son's mercy; if tempted, he might have made me believe that the King of Persia had married his cook, like our opposite neighbour. I made prodigious efforts to save myself, and for a while succeeded. I had already extorted from Agostino that Darius had married Esther, that she was an orphan and had an uncle called Mordecai, when all at once Agostino was seized with a curiosity to know why Mordecai had not made himself known to the King, his relation. There must be a reason, "because," added my son, "if Mordecai had made himself known, Darius would not have confided in that other man so much, you know—that man—wait a bit—."

"I smiled and waited with exemplary patience, but—let any father imagine my feelings—I actually did not remember that other man's name. I waited and smiled, but it was no use. "I have it on the tip of my tongue," cried Agostino, raising his large eyes to the ceiling, and then glancing at me in the hope of what was impossible, that is, that I would come to his assistance without reproving him. My heart bled for him; but I was inexorable.

"You don't know it yet," I said, "you must go over it again."

"But I have it—only wait."

"And he ran out of the room. When he returned triumphant to tell me that the other man was called Haman, I had placed a big volume of the Pandects before me, in order to make my son believe that I was buried in law, while the fact was that I was calling myself an ass.

"Alas! my son's high opinion of his father could not last long! Darius, son of Hystaspes, had struck the first blow at my false greatness, and who knew whether, before evening, some other personage would not step forth from the pages of the Historical Compendium, to put me to the blush before my child! I made a grand effort, and every evening stole my son's Com-

pendium, and half an hour from my lawsuits, and plunged into the midst of the Persians and Assyrians. I was in no haste, I had no thirst for history, as you may believe, and was content with preceding my son step by step, so as not to be exposed, at meal-times, to certain surprises which would have spoiled my digestion and deprived my son of the admiring respect due to the author of his being.

'For a time all went well; but there came one unhappy morning on which the scholars, who had been sojourning with me in Persia, suddenly went off without warning into Assyria, and the very same evening Agostino, little thinking how he pained me, named in my presence Shalmaneser and Sennacherib.

'At first I pretended not to hear, but, after a vain attempt to lead the boy back to Persia, where he would have found me quite at home, I was obliged to let him say what he liked.

'Other surprises followed; my son's geography, sacred history, and even arithmetic had many secrets for me. Encouraged by the example of the Catechism, which to me was a mystery, those three little books tormented me every evening, spoiling my dinner during several weeks, and disturbing my sleep. I was dragged from some sacrament to follow the course of a river in America, which could not have been more tortuous if it had done it on purpose; I descended a mountain after having examined the face of the surrounding country, only to find myself in the midst of plane geometry, a geometry that made me long to go up the mountain once more and never come down again.

'Merciful heavens! How great was my ignorance! I did not know anything any more; worse still, what I knew was all mistakes, because what I remembered was all confused and inexact.

'To take up from the very beginning all my former studies, as if I were about to go through an examination or make a new doctrine for myself, would have been an heroic remedy; but I was a coward, and contented myself with patching my knowledge wherever it was out at elbows.

'It was not long before Agostino caught me making a mistake—once—twice—ten times; at first he was astonished, then sorry, and at last he became malicious. He no longer cried out, as he had done during the delightful days of his innocence, "You know everything, papa!" on the contrary, he actually began to talk nonsense to my face about the most elementary things, and even about the rights and duties of citizens, a theme which was my daily bread, and to refuse my corrections, telling me confidently, but without arrogance, in the classical words that have made so many fathers turn pale, "The master said so!"

'Evangeline tried to defend me by exaggerating her belief in me, so as to raise me above the master; but it was useless. Agostino did not plainly tell me that what I said was not true, but he gave me to understand, at the first opportunity, that he no more cherished any illusions as to my infallibility, by murmuring, "The master said so!"

"I studied in secret, with a disorder that faithfully reflected the state of my mind, the mountains, the populations, the hypothenusal square and the eucharist. All in vain ; pursued by my fate, I at last underwent the supreme trial. Agostino had been set a very difficult problem, and the poor boy, who was not strong in mathematics, could not solve it.

"Agostino does not know how to do his sum," Evangelina came to tell me. "I don't know what these masters have in their heads, to torment a poor boy in this fashion ! All the morning he has been bent over the table till it makes my heart ache to see him. You must go and help him."

"I help him !" I exclaimed ; "then what is the use of sending him to school ? If they give him difficult sums, it means that he knows how to do them, and if he doesn't, it is better that the master finds it out and explains. Besides, I am so busy."

"Perhaps Evangelina went away to try to do what I could not, for shortly afterwards she returned and said, "It is really a very difficult one, a geometrical one. Agostino can't get it right. He is crying."

"Crying !" I rose and went at once ; and while crossing the threshold of the little room in which Agostino had been tormenting himself for an hour, I had a presentiment of an impending catastrophe. But there was no time to go back, so I went up to my son, and, first stroking his head, said gravely, "Give it to me." "A brick-manufacturer had to consign as many bricks as would pave a room of trapezoidal shape, the sides of which measured, eh, eh——." "It is not difficult," I said ; "Can't you make it out ?"

"The boy did not reply. He looked at me with the old ingenuous admiration, mixed with a touch of astonishment. And I added, "I have no time just now, and, besides, it is your business to do the task ; if I did everything for you, it would be useless to send you to school. But you have been working too long ; go out and amuse yourself a little, take a run in the yard, and when you come up again, you will find it easier."

"It is too difficult," he said.

"It is quite easy," I insisted.

"He went to run in the yard, and I took his place at the small table.

"May heaven spare all fathers the torture I underwent that morning ! What had seemed so easy at a distance bristled with a thousand difficulties as soon as I examined it. Evangelina stood watching me, guessing at my embarrassment. I heard Agostino shouting in the yard, and thought of an urgent paper that lay on my desk, but I continued to sit as if nailed to my chair, turning over the leaves of the plane geometry, calculating, crossing out, and correcting the mistaken figures. Little by little my head was so filled by them that I could not find my way out ; I even mistook the totals and lost precious time in finding out the error in a unit (a unit of bricks !) They came to tell me that a client wanted to speak to me ; I told them to say that I was very busy and could not see him. But suddenly a light broke on my mind, the problem grew clear and I was not five minutes in solving it.

"It is done!" I cried to Evangelina. "It was really not so difficult; but then I am out of practice."

'It was useless to pretend modesty; Evangelina evidently admired me, neither more nor less, and I saw her admiration pass into the no longer malicious mind of Agostino when he came up and found the problem solved.

'I really did not consider that I had lost my time; on the contrary, on entering my study, I assumed a certain solemnity of manner, as if I bore the torch of science.

'It was now that my fate overtook me. Instead of returning merrily from school, and rushing into my study to tell me that he had got ten marks and plenty of praise for his completed task, Agostino came home like a beaten dog; and went into the kitchen.

'When I asked what was the matter he replied in a bad humour that the sum was wrong.

"It is impossible!" I exclaimed.

"Look," said Agostino, sorrowfully, "it ought to come to 1526 bricks, and it is 3916!"

'I looked, but could see nothing. If all those bricks had fallen on my head they would not have hurt me.

'But heaven sends consolation to accompany misfortune and I found my consolation sitting at my desk. Laurina, the little student, had climbed into my chair and was diligently reading the codex of precedence.

"Listen, Papa," she cried, as soon as she saw me, "listen, I know it all! Two and two are four, and two are eight, and two are ten, and two are twenty-four, and two are twenty-six, and two are thirty!"

Equally charming is the episode of the first proposal of marriage for Laurina,—we cannot say to her, since Signor Libero di Liberi applies to the father, not to the young lady herself, who is yet hardly 'come out'—but want of space forbids its insertion. He who has once read the description, comic yet truthful, of the elderly suitor will never forget it.

In *Signor Io* (Mr. Ego), the fourteenth work of our author, while we have much that recalls Dickens, we have also the execution and details peculiar to Farina himself. We note especially a certain reserve and control of the humorous and pathetic elements, a mastery over them, and subordination of each in turn to the author's just artistic perceptions. Only a fine discrimination could have avoided relapsing into mere caricature in the earlier chapters, descriptive of the hero's unconscious egotism, or have resisted the temptation of indulging in weak sentimentality and mannerism in the close. When comparing

the work before us with Farina's more youthful productions, we are more than ever surprised at the difference in treatment and subject which years and study have brought. For the long-winded earlier novels hardly promised the interesting and condensed style we find in this. Here, as in many other of Farina's works, filial and parental affection plays the part usually assigned to love-making in the story, the plan of which is so simple that, in recounting it, it would hardly seem sufficient to awaken any interest. A selfish and self-absorbed father is left a widower with an only child, an impulsive and all too-loving girl of twelve. At first he is charmed with her devotion to him, and the assiduity with which she applies herself to fill the place of housewife as well as daughter. Here is his own account of it:—

‘My sorrows commenced on the day that Faustina, good soul! died. Faustina was my wife for fourteen years; she had got to the very bottom of my heart, appreciated me as I deserved, and pitied my weaknesses. Between us two speech had become almost unnecessary; I had only to cast a glance around, and she ran at once to get me the thing I wanted, for she had read my thought. She often succeeded in getting up before me, doing so without opening the shutters. She dressed in the dark, and went out of the room on tiptoe for fear of disturbing the repose which I so much needed—at least she always said I did—and I took care not to contradict her, because it is so sweet to abandon oneself resistlessly to being coddled, and it is even meritorious, when to do so is to please certain weak and gentle natures. Faustina's nature was of this caressing kind, and she was well content at my submission and I also. That was indeed a happy time!

‘During the last months of her life my wife was very melancholy, and often hid herself in order to shed tears freely. But in my presence she always smiled, and sometimes even laughed; she did not want to make me uneasy. So she smiled till the last. One morning she called me to her bedside, and told me that she could not get up, neither that morning nor ever again.

“What will you do?” she asked.

“What shall I do?” I repeated jokingly, “this is what I shall do,” and I lighted the coffee-machine.

“Well done,” she cried, but her tone was sorrowful, and I begged her not to vex herself, not to trouble about anything, but only to think of getting well soon, so as to relieve me of all embarrassment.

“How good you are!” she murmured.

‘Yes, that is what she said. In the night her words still resounded in the close air of the room. I recalled them with pleasure, because they were true; although mankind and fate have done all they could to spoil me, I am really good.

'Faustina died beseeching me not to be cast down with sorrow ; not to fall ill, but to live for the sake of our child, who was then twelve years old.

'My poor wife's last wishes were sacred to me ; I did all that she had desired ; I did not allow myself to be cast down ; I did not fall ill, and I lived on.

'All this seemed impossible to me while still in the presence of poor Faustina's pale corpse, but my will triumphed over my bitter trial.

'Now began a new life, an almost monastic life, which lasted fifteen years, and which I have bravely endured to this day.

'Serafina, my daughter, was a serious embarrassment to a lonely man, and I was obliged to send her to school ; I obtained for her semi-gratuitous admission into a boarding school in my native place, Bergamo. She cried very much when I took her there, and on parting from me bathed my hands with her tears.

"Think of your mother !" I said to her, "she never cried. All her life long she always smiled ; you also must learn to smile at your poor forsaken father !"

'On hearing this she began to cry again, and nothing would stop her. I was obliged to leave her in the arms of the mistress, lest I should miss the mid-day train, promising myself to write to her as soon as I arrived in Milan. But she was quicker than I, and four days after I found a letter of four pages, all blotted with her tears. This letter made me thoughtful ; I noticed an unexpected exuberance of phrases and romantic words. My daughter, who had always been the shyest of all creatures that wear short frocks ; my daughter, who, when she came to say good night, never dared to kiss me if I forgot to encourage her ; my daughter, who had such a deep reverence for me as to make me embarrassed, and who looked on me, I don't know why, rather as a professor of a difficult science than as a father—she, at twelve years of age, found herself, when away from me, mistress of an unusual vocabulary of tenderness for the author of her being.

'Like her poor dead mother, she wrote to me "that I was good, that I had a generous soul" and similar things. The case seemed serious, and I hastened to reply, advising her to be very careful in the choice of her reading, and in the use of the phrases she found in her books. I remember that I said "you must write naturally, simply, more from the heart than from the fancy, and above all you must be sincere. Learn from to-day to suspect fine phrases, for they are generally full of wind and emptiness, and, until you have gained the necessary experience, it is better to reject words that are uncommon, because they are likely to be false coin."

'She replied promptly, telling me that she had perfectly understood, and thanking me for my precious advice, which, she said, was engraven on her heart. But still the letter commenced with these words, "Adored father !" . . . During the holidays Serafina came home, and I put her to the proof without her knowing it. The girl seemed born with the keys of the cellar and storeroom in her pocket. She was scarcely thirteen

years old, but looked quite fifteen, she was so well developed. When she stood on tiptoe she could not only open the topmost drawers in the tall cupboards, but could even reach to wind up the timepiece. She could not bear to see a speck of dust without rushing at it—when she could not reach it, she fetched the step-ladder, or called Anna Maria to help her, and when she had attained her purpose she was still dissatisfied, looking round as if in search of an enemy.

“Who knows—” she sometimes said to me, “who knows how much dust there is lying on the cornice round the ceiling!”

“Who knows!” I laughingly repeated, “but I hope you won’t think of climbing up there!”

“Do you know,” I said to her one day, when she had climbed up the ladder, and was dusting a picture, “do you know that in three weeks it will be time to go to school again? But I have determined to make you happy. Come down and embrace your father!”

At first she did not understand, but, turning round, she saw me waiting at the bottom of the ladder with open arms, like providence. Then she threw herself upon me from the height, crushing me entirely. “Are you in earnest? must I not go to school again?”

“No!” I replied, trying in vain to extricate myself from her clasp, “you shall not go again; are you satisfied? But we must first make a bargain.”

“Oh yes, what is it?”

“You must promise to study history and geography at home.”

“Yes, yes, I will!”

“You must read all the books I give you.”

“Oh yes, I will read them all!”

“You must also learn French.”

“Yes, yes, of course!”

She promised everything. “and,” I added, “you must always remember that if I make this sacrifice, it is because I promised your poor mother to make you happy. You will do your best to fill her place. Will you promise?”

She tried to say yes; I raised her face from my waistcoat, and found that she had begun to cry. “You must also promise not to cry so often. Your poor father works hard to make you happy, and you will reward him badly if you have nothing but tears to show him when he comes home from college.” At this Serafina dried her tears and laughed.

Unfortunately the father fails to see that the same tenacity of affection which had made Serafina so exemplary as a daughter, would when aroused by a lover, cling with equal constancy to him, and when the lover appears in the form of an opera-singer, (specially abhorrent by his calling to a professor of abstract

philosophy), he provokes a strife of contending feelings in the girl, ending in the lover's gaining the day and the enraged father disowning his daughter. The subject, melodramatic and hackneyed as it may seem, receives a distinctive character from the subdued, calm, all but passionless way in which it is related. It is the father himself who tells the tale, as if he were appealing to public opinion to judge between himself and his ungrateful child. The comic and tragic elements are so skilfully interwoven that, as in real life, there is hardly any possibility of separating them. Even the resolve of the father on a second marriage, and his resource to advertisement for that purpose, does not lapse wholly into the burlesque, and is made to serve as the means of discovering his daughter whom he has lost sight of. The catastrophe and final solution of the whole story, is conciliatory and not unreal. We quote a little scene in one of the closing chapters, where Mark Antony makes the acquaintance of his little grandchild:—

"Listen, Faustina, let that locket alone and look at me."

"The child looked up, but did not let go the locket."

"Who am I?"

"Oh, of course I know! you are grandpapa?"

"Faustina looked very impatient and tried to get off Mark Antony's knee, but he held her fast."

"Wait," she said, "let me go—" and her grandfather let her go.

"She ran to a table in the middle of the room, took up a large photograph album, and returned burthened with its weight, which made her totter."

"Look," she said, opening the book on the old man's knee, "do you know this one? It is Papa. He is only dressed like that when he acts in *Don Pasquale*. Wait, I will show you another. . . . It is Don Basilio, but it is papa. This is mamma, and this is you, isn't it? Wait, I want to show you—"

"Faustina," said Mark Antony, patting the child's intelligent face, "Faustina, tell me the truth. Do you really love grandpapa?"

"Oh, yes," replied the child, still bent on her idea, "but wait, I want to show you—"

"Do you really love him very much?"

"Yes so much."

"How much?"

"More than all the world!"

"This was not enough for Mark Antony, and so Faustina corrected herself."

"More than all the world, and all the houses, and all the stars, and then more than all the world again, and all the houses, and all the stars!"—until the indiscreet grandpapa thought it enough.

"And how did you manage to love grandpapa, when you had never seen him, when he was far far away?"

"I don't know how. They told me I must love *grandpapa*, and I have always loved you."

"Who told you so?"

"Mamma and papa. Every evening before going to bed, mamma made me pray, 'God bless papa, mamma, and grandpapa.' Did God bless you?"

"Yes, my darling, he did, he did!"

"Ah!" exclaimed Faustina, very seriously, but still trying to turn over the pages of the album.

"So you loved grandpapa because mamma and papa told you to?" asked Mark Antony, "only for that?"

"Oh, no, and because he sent me such pretty things, dolls and nice sweetmeats! But let me go, I want to show you my brothers; don't you know that I have two brothers?"

"Two brothers," stammered the old man.

"Yes, two. But one is dead, poor little thing!" said Faustina, without a trace of sadness. "Here he is, look; he was called Mark Antony, like you. Wasn't he pretty?"

"Oh, was he not! oh, how pretty he was!"

"He ought not to have died, ought he? But he has gone to heaven."

"Ah! babies ought not to die and go to heaven!"

"This," Faustina went on, not noticing that her grandfather's eyes were full of tears, "this is the other. He is very little, oh, so little! He is also called Mark Antony. But if you only saw how little he is; only so big—but he is strong; papa says he is very strong, and you should feel how he squeezes your finger when you put it into his hand."

Mark Antony fixed his eyes, heavy with an irresistible inclination to cry, on those two faces, never seen and yet so dear. He caressed with a trembling hand the head of the little girl, and was silent. Bye and bye, a tear fell on the open book, and a tiny finger wiped it off.

"What's the matter?" asked the child.

"Her grandfather closed his eyes, and wept—her mother and father, who stood arm in arm at the door, signed to her to be quiet. She was silent; only, when another tear fell on the album, she wiped it away with a tiny finger.

Then her grandfather, who had noticed all, called, without raising his head,

"Serafina! Iginio!"

"And the child asked in vain, 'What's the matter?'"

In character-drawing this novelette is worthy of the highest

praise. Not to mention the father and daughter, the unwelcome son-in-law, Signor Curti, and the little Faustina are imagined and portrayed by a true artist, while such subordinate personages as Anna Maria, the beggar, Professor Gerolamo, and even the slightly indicated figures of the young officers at the restaurant-table, and the students in the lecture-room, are graphic sketches true to life.

Fresh mountain-air, a spirit of adventure, homely joys and wild fantastic music, breathe through the charming little tale entitled *Fra le Corde d' un Controbasso* (Among the Strings of a Violoncello), a love-story simple and sweet, with dramatis personæ who seem like old friends, yet in a new scene which makes them as interesting as if they were new creations with the added charm of familiarity. Papa Brighi, whose friendly grasp of the hand almost dislocates the wrists of his weaker fellow men; the young musician, bent on listening to the music of the spheres on the highest mountain peaks, and neglecting the simpler but sweeter melodies of domestic happiness; Toniotto, the unsuccessful lover, resigning heroically to his brother the object of his boyish dreams; the doctor and friend of the family, who has to rouse the tardy lover to a more active assertion of his claim to the lovely cousin, by right of her love for him; and the girl herself—all these are sketched in this little Alpine idyl, with a gentle affection which wins the reader's heart for them all. A melancholy interest is added to the little book, when we read the few words on the title-page, dedicating it to the author's wife as the last of the works which she had 'approved with her smile.'

A longer novel *Amore ha Cent' Occhi* (Love is Argus-eyed), was next published, at first as a serial tale in the leading Italian periodical, *La Nuova Antologia*. It displays much psychological study, but would have gained by an abbreviation of the earlier chapters. The sketches of life in Sardinia, Farina's early home, have the greatest interest for us, as portraying faithfully a country which is little known.

We have already observed in speaking of his earlier writings that thoughts of death and the future life, had possessed a peculiar attraction for Farina. It need not therefore surprise us that his mind dwelt on this theme more than ever, when the

loving companionship which had cheered him under so many trials was ended. His best two works bear the significant motto 'We Die,' and in the deeply touching preface to the first of these, we read that for some time he had meditated a series of works embodying thoughts connected with the question—'What part does the thought of death play in life? and that his wife had encouraged him with her unfailing loving sympathy, assuring him that this would be his masterpiece.

The first of this series *Caporal Silvestro* (Corporal Silvestro), is one of the shorter tales and might almost be termed a sketch, were it not that the phrase would hardly do justice to the careful finish apparent everywhere. The humour and pathos which remind us so of Dickens, and yet are all Farina's own, are present here in a pre-eminent degree, but the tender passion plays no part in the book whatever.

The love of a worthy couple for an adopted child, who proved undeserving of their affection, and their resisting a natural impulse to transfer it to a second orphan, who finally conquers by the strength of her own attachment to them, is a subject which we believe only one other could have represented with equal truth and artistic skill. The pivot on which the whole plot turns is the possession of a house, and there is a grim humour in the destiny by which a cunning doctor, who has speculated on the shortness of others' lives, is defeated in his egotistical projects. The inimitable Corporal Silvestro and his wife Lucia, the double personality of Dr. Massimo, and the two skilfully contrasted adopted daughters Rosetta and Mariuccia, will afford sincere and genuine delight to the reader. The background of sandy beach and sparkling waves swept by fresh sea-breezes, is a charming setting to the whole. We almost see the level rays of the summer evening shining across the wet sand in the first chapter, and feel the lazy interest in all possible objects of observation, and most of all in all mankind, common to sojourners by the seaside. The description of Dr. Massimo is perhaps less attractive, but is full of a subtle penetration into a character very unlike Farina's own :—

'He was a doctor, as I was a lawyer, possessed of but little learning and no practice; but he did not refuse medical advice to his friends, and on

such occasions made a large display of big and difficult words. Exactly like me.

"Every malady that may attack a good Christian," Dr. Massimo told me, "has at least two names; and to certain maladies which we doctors don't know how to cure we even give four names, one finer than the other. It is the least we can do for suffering humanity."

'Now Dr. Massimo always chose the most Greek, the most difficult names. He called a cold a *coriza*, headache *cefalea*, and appeared stock-full of science.

'He confessed to me that in this way he gained admirers. There was a man in the world who admired, actually admired, big Dr. Massimo, and considered him a well of knowledge, one of those private wells which it is sometimes necessary, in the interests of humanity, to open by force with the aid of a policeman.

'The large person of Dr. Massimo concealed quite another man; at the surface was the merry witty companion; below was the other, who, however, did not hesitate to come to the surface when you invoked him. This was a cautious, astute little fellow, not properly an egotist, but such a careful calculator in all that concerned his own interests that he very often had quite the semblance of one.

'For instance, in the bargain of the annuity, although the big doctor had apparently been extremely benevolent and generous while tempting Corporal Silvestro, the hidden little doctor had acted with perfect prudence. It was he, the invisible, who had made himself sure of the precise age of the two old people, by sending to their respective parishes for copies of the registers of their birth. It was he who had the house secretly valued, although he knew the official valuation; it was he, in short, who had felt the pulse of, and performed auscultation on the husband and wife, to find out that each had the same cardiac defect.

"It is diabolical cleverness, is it not," the good-natured doctor remarked, revealing with complacency the vices of his double.

'I replied that it was, and he gleefully rubbed his hands. He did so in perfect good faith. But how had he managed all this?

"In this way," he replied, "all the beauty lies in that; how did I do it? It was impossible to get Corporal Silvestro to tell me the exact age of his wife, he always evaded my questions and escaped me. But, even if he had told me the truth, I should not have believed him. And it was important to know the truth else I could not have proposed the annuity."

'Ah! then it was before speaking of the annuity?

"Of course; before even hinting at it. And then, if I had not first proved my old couple, I should have found them less manageable afterwards. It would have been difficult for me to get to know, even indirectly, when they had been born, if they had suspected that I should send for the register of their birth."

"And the auscultation?" I asked.

'That had been very easy ; an indigestion, a slight *coriza* or an insignificant *cefalea* puts your neighbour into your power when you are a doctor, and if you are clever you will use that power in your own interests.

'I thought it a wicked thing to discover insidiously a cardiac defect in two old people with a view to proposing to them an annuity, but the big doctor had not a notion of his own wickedness ; he simply believed himself very clever, and boasted of it.

"However," he added, laughing, "one does not always die of heart disease, and almost always of old age. The Silvestros are both old enough. Let us see ; how old would you take the corporal to be ?"

"Perhaps sixty-eight."

"No ! seventy-two ; and the old lady, but don't tell anyone, is two years older than her husband."

'He read my thought in my face, for he hastened to add, "All things calculated, I still risk a considerable sum. The house is not worth more than three hundred pounds, and the Silvestros may live another twenty years, maybe twenty-five. There are cases of longevity that remind one of Biblical times, as I made Corporal Silvestro notice. "You have quite the appearance of an old Testament patriarch," I told him, and he laughed. As to the heart disease, it is a mere menace ; there are people threatened by the doctors who do not lose courage, and live on merrily. Therefore, as I said before, I may have made a bad bargain."

'He said so, but it was clear that he did not think so. Can I honestly say that he hoped the contrary ? The little doctor who kept concealed certainly hoped so ; but the big doctor, he indeed, hoped nothing of the sort.'

The latest published novelette of our author *L' Ultimo Battaglia de Prete Agostino* (Father Agostino's last Battle), has also the preface 'We Die.' Even more than *Corporal Silvestro* does it deal with the great question and mystery of Life and Death, and contains many most suggestive passages. Father Agostino has lived blamelessly and respected as lodger in the family of a railway official in North Italy, whose practical sense of duty and of what Government expects of him, joined with a cynical tolerance of religion, is cleverly contrasted with the devoutness of his wife and her eagerness to secure all spiritual blessings for their only son, even to that of his also becoming a priest like their lodger, which the father firmly opposes. The quiet humouristic tone in which the book commences, can best be exemplified by a passage showing the interweaving of spiritual and temporal interests in Signora Bernarda's mind :—

'No sooner had Father Agostino taken possession of the dead man's room and place at table, than there commenced the series of small favors, which a good natured priest easily obtains from heaven. The latest favor which might almost be called a miracle, was that of causing Signora Bernarda to conceive the idea of playing in the lottery on the Friday before the critical day on which Severino was obliged to put on a pair of new gloves in order to make his New-Year official visit.

'And truly, Bernarda had only to cast a glance at her husband, to perceive that not only his hands, but his other extremities, had urgent need of being reclothed with the decency suggested by official decorum. Now when decorum has failed in its suggestion, it may be as well to play in the lottery for two numbers out of three.

Thus thought and thus acted Signora Bernarda, when she played Father Agostino's age—69, the date of the day on which he had begun to board with them, eight months ago—15, and the occasion on which a tall hat, new boots, and chocolate-coloured gloves, were necessary to her husband—1

'Bernarda had played these numbers without telling the priest; she had only begged him to pray, when he went to bed, according to her wishes.

'Father Agostino did not pray much, but he prayed well, and compassionate heaven granted two numbers, that is, 15 and 69; that is, forty little francs that exactly fitted the wants of the employé of the *Alta Italia*. It is noticeable that number 1 had not come out, and Bernarda, if she had been prudent, would, she herself confessed, have chosen number 8, which actually came out, and which represented the number of the monthly payments made by the reverend father up to the 15th of December.

But a deeper chord is soon struck; Father Agostino himself, used to a mechanical performance of the duties of his sacred office and accepting the veneration due to the same without self-questioning, is suddenly brought face to face with religious doubt in a certain Professor Giorgio, who appeals to him for comfort and spiritual guidance at a moment when his own researches and study of natural science have proved unavailing. The scene somewhat abridged, is as follows:—

"Tell me something about your illness," said Father Agostino; "how did it begin; what produced it?"

"Mental fatigue, misfortune, and solitude."

"Ah!"

"I was very happy because I worked hard. The laughing voices of my children, the sweet smile of my wife, filled and cheered my house. It was a happy time."

'While saying this, the professor's slow speech underwent no change,

showing that he was still moved by these memories ; it was as rigid and inflexible as fate itself. Father Agostino felt a wave of consolatory words rising not only from his heart, but from his whole being. He had a strong impulse to press to his breast that poor weary head, and in his compassion he seemed to fathom the depths of the paternal affection, which he himself had never experienced.

‘ But the professor scarcely paused before adding, in the same monotonous accent, “ All is at an end ; my dear ones lie in the grave. I believed that I should soon join them, but I only fell ill. The faith that had never abandoned me, kept me alive. Once more I worked, and when I was weary, I summoned my beloved dead around me, and felt them hasten to me one by one. We spoke aloud together. While waiting long hours for the sleep that delayed, or scarcely again awake, I used to say, Are you there my children ? and you, my dear girl ? and there passed a cool breath across my face—once a doctor told me that this was not faith, but only hypnotism, a form of hysteria. In order to avert the malady that was creeping over me, I was advised to rest, not to think, not to work, and to seek amusement. In spite of this remedy there came a day when I wanted to say to my printer, ‘ Is there nothing more to do ! ’ but I could only utter indistinct sounds. I had lost all memory of words, while all my other faculties remained intact. I understood the *idea* of words, so well, that, standing erect with folded arms, waiting till I should fall unconscious and depart to another world, I yet repeated inwardly, ‘ No, Giorgio, there is nothing more to do. You have done enough ! ’ From that hour my malady dates.”

“ Strange ! strange ! ” exclaimed the priest.

“ If I speak of my illness,” continued the professor, “ it is because it increased my belief. You will understand, reverend sir, that, compelled to silence for so long a time, I had leisure to observe the movements of the mind. I said to myself ; it is only the manifestation of ideas that is impaired, not the idea itself which is the soul. And I even enjoyed being ill, because I knew that if I recovered I should find my soul intact, and if I died, also those of my children.”

‘ Father Agostino was much pleased to hear certain ideas, which had sometimes crossed his mind but which he had never had occasion to examine more closely, thus clearly expressed ; rather slowly, it must be confessed, for time was passing and the cards were waiting, the professor continued :

“ What materialists say, namely, that the human mind works by means of so many lobes and an infinity of cells, and that if a lobe be wounded or a cell destroyed, the corresponding faculty is paralysed—all this does not do away with the soul, it only refers to its mode of action. I said to myself, in me the memory of words is wounded, but the idea of words exists, and deprived of extrinsic conception, mark well, reverend sir, the missing words are still conceived. This happened during the first days, when the malady had simplified my method of examination, reducing it solely to

direct observation. Now that I am almost cured, when I wish to represent to myself this marvellous phenomenon, I am obliged to adopt a fatiguing method of reasoning, almost an abstraction, and I understand that a day will come when I shall doubt whether I did not deceive myself. Do you quite understand, reverend sir?"

"Father Agostino had not understood much, but still he was glad that a man of sound faith and critical judgment had listened at the door of the great truth. And he ingenuously replied,

"When you talk of lobes and cells, I understand very little; but all the rest—"

"If he had completed his sentence he would have been insincere, so he left it unfinished.

"Listen to me," he said instead, "I am old, and my priestly office has brought me into contact with much human misery to be healed by the divine word. You are fortunate because you believe, and you believe because you have seen and touched."

"Giorgio Silva shook his head, and greatly astonished Father Agostino by saying,

"I did believe, but I do so no longer. During the last three months I have attempted to refute the materialists, those who deny free will, those who, by denying a future life, cut the wings of humanity. I attempted to prove that the soul of man, and of the world, is indestructible. Every day a new adversary presented himself, and every day I triumphed over him. I was angered because a certain positive science, instead of being contented with observations, invaded the field of philosophy, and I was pained that certain philosophers ravaged all human sentiment. I fought hard to keep at least my faith in death and hope. Perhaps I overtired myself, and I have now need of assistance. If you know one divine word that can do me good, pray speak it."

"Alas, poor Father Agostino! He knew a great many divine words, both Italian and Latin by heart, and he believed it sufficient to choose a few to heal the wound which the professor had inflicted on himself. So he said,

"You have been trying to fence with medicine, philosophy, anatomy, and whatnot, in short, with unfamiliar weapons, and that is why you are wounded. Pardon me if I ask what you teach at college?"

"Literature."

"I am glad of it. You ought to have fought on your own ground, and you would not have been hurt. Horace, Lucretius, Virgil, any of the grand ancients might have suggested —"

"It was useless, he had not begun well. The professor's unforeseen demand had surprised him so that not even the most familiar sacred words presented themselves; therefore he tried to fill their place by profane sayings. But even pagan poetry failed him at this juncture, and the only thing that came into his head was this verse from Horace, *Da mihi fallere,*

da justum sanctumque videri, the invocation to the goddess of thieves, which he had been reading just before coming to this dangerous colloquy.

‘Giorgio Silva wanted something very different. If, in his extremity, he had applied to a priest, it was because he needed words of faith and no other. He shook his head with such insistence that the old priest was obliged to stop short.

“No, reverend sir,” said Giorgio, “it is not that. I must confess that I do not know whether I am a Christian; perhaps I am; but certainly I am no Catholic; I have believed up to the last hour, in my own fashion, in a religion of the heart and mind. I thought that you, having lived longer, and having been occupied all your life with the immortal soul, could uphold a vacillating mind which has so much need to cling to its belief. For this reason, and this only, I ventured to trouble you.”

‘Alas, poor Father Agostino!’

“Long ago, craniology asked whether free-will be not a mere farce, this you certainly know; but perhaps you do not know that physiology has now declared that the doctrine of free-will is only fit to be thrown into the rubbish heap. . . . Think a little, reverend sir, if free-will be really naught, what becomes of the immortal soul?”

‘Father Agostino did not attempt to rebut any scientific or philosophic argument; but, by instinct he touched the chord that still vibrated amidst this ruin.

“I am a poor priest,” he said. “I know nothing; I cannot wrestle with science. I will not even observe that science is not infallible, that it often makes mistakes, because what was accepted by science yesterday, has to-day been found to be lies—I will not even say this. But I will repeat to you the words of the Imitation of Christ: ‘Speak not to me, prophets! but speak Thou, Lord God, because Thou alone, without them, canst perfectly teach me, while they, without Thee, can do nothing.’”

‘While pronouncing these words, the priest had tears in his eyes, and felt himself inspired.

‘After a short silence, he added, “You ask me for one sacred word; I have but one, prayer. Pray as you like; place yourself at the window and look at the starry heavens; call around you your children, your faithful companion, and pray, pray earnestly, give your ideas time to adjust themselves; think no more to-day; you will think all the better to-morrow.”

‘The professor was silent, and Father Agostino, taking both his hands between his own, stammered, “I will leave you, Professor. I am waited for; the time is even past—I must make haste.”

“Thanks, thanks, thanks,” said Giorgio Silva, raising his head, “Your words have sunk into my heart.” “Just what I wished,” cried the priest, with a boldness that was belied by his melancholy smile.

‘He went to the door without another word, and began to descend the stairs. But instead of proceeding to the chemist’s, where the game was waiting for him, he turned again, and slowly re-ascended to his own room.’

The figure of Professor Giorgio is inexpressibly affecting when we see how in him the author has portrayed his own sorrow, and the affliction which so long threatened a clouding of the intellectual genius and loving heart such as alone could have given us this little book, so full of tender home affection and kindly insight, as the expression of what he has thought and suffered.

We have been thus minute in our analysis of these novels, and perhaps lavish in extracts from them, because a careful study of their characteristics and tendency has seemed to us to be more than usually suggestive and important. If it be true that the inner life of a nation may be found reflected in its best novels, Salvatore Farina is an author whose works are pregnant with many lessons. Much has been written and spoken about the regeneration of Italy, and it is as if here, in a certain measure, the true chord were struck. Not in overpowering sentimentality, or blind sensual passion, is to be found that inner strength which can build up a nation, respected and prosperous among her compeers, happy and truly great in herself. The love of wife and children, home and friends, and sympathy for common everyday joys and sorrows, are a safer guide for Italy in the path that lies before her than the more brilliant and alluring light which her volatile neighbour across the Alps has too long shed on her lighter literature, influencing by it the thought and feeling of her people. Much of Italy's national character, such as we have observed it in a long and somewhat intimate acquaintance not with the land only, but with the people, we find expressed, perhaps unconsciously, in these books, to which we would fain direct the attention of English readers. There seems to us a disproportionate value assigned to personal beauty in the heroes and heroines of all the earlier novels. We do not often, perhaps, adore positive plainness, but neither do we desire to be reminded of exterior charms at every step by reiterated description. Yet in listening to the small talk of an actual Italian drawing-room, we are immediately struck by the prominence in the minds of all the speakers given to beauty, which is accounted, not only in women but in men also, as a redeeming virtue, which like charity covers a multitude of sins. That in Farina's maturer works this tendency is no longer

visible, that his men and women are interesting in themselves, not for form and figure only, is we think a healthful and hopeful sign. Nor are his countrymen by any means destitute of the sentiment of family affection which he so warmly evinces, and notably the love for children plays a large part in Italian life of the present day. That they too often love their children 'not wisely but too well' is undeniably true, but that the ground and basis of home-life exists in so many Italian households, is indeed a fact to be hailed with unmingled pleasure and satisfaction by those who have her progress as a nation at heart. Shielded by the guardian angel of the domestic hearth, and armed by her own fervent and undoubted patriotic feeling, Italy need not fear what the future may bring her, and may boldly face even the darkest mystery which the human heart, in its gropings after fuller light, has to confront.

ART. III.—THE CORONATION OF CHARLES I. AT HOLYROOD.

THE Coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood on Tuesday, June 18, 1633, is the only Scottish Coronation which was performed with the rites of the English Church. It has consequently been regarded with feelings which vary much, according to the standpoint of each particular author. The editor of Sir James Balfour's *Annals*, for instance, regards it as 'the last regular and legitimate ceremonial of the kind,' and one of 'the most gorgeous and magnificent ceremonials in our history.' Row, on the other hand, records that Charles 'was solemnly crowned, with such rites, ceremonies, and forms as made many good Christians to admire such things to be used in this Reformed Kirk.' It does not fall within the intention of Hetherington to describe 'the semi-popish pageantry.' Stevenson remarks that 'the particulars of this inauguration would no doubt be entertaining; but though Sir James Balfour, who was then Lyon King of Arms, saith he published the same, we

have not been able to come at it, nor do any other of our authors give the particulars of it.' Stevenson was unfortunate. In 1825, fifteen years before the appearance of his *History*, the *Annals* of Sir James had been published, and at the end of the fourth volume, p. 383, is the elaborate account in question. It is exceedingly full, except in one respect, viz., that it does not give the whole of the prayers *in extenso*. This defect, however, is supplied by an earlier work. Whenever a ceremonial of this sort takes place, there is an outburst of publications of a cognate kind; and in connection with the Coronation of James VII. (II.), there was printed a book entitled *The Ceremonies, Form of Prayer and Services used in Westminster Abby at the Coronation of James the First and Queen Ann his Consort, performed by Dr. Whitgift, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, etc., with* [here follows a sort of epitome of the contents] *with the Coronation of King Charles the First in Scotland. Never before published. Printed and are to be sold by Randal Taylor, near Stationer's Hall, 1685.* The account of Charles' Coronation is headed, *The Form* of King Charles, the 1., his Coronation in Scotland, June 11th, 1633. Written with Mr. Dell's own Hand, Secretary to the late Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud.* This is the draft form or Ritual drawn up for the purpose, and seemingly sent down to Scotland beforehand. It appears that there was a book prepared in accordance with these directions; for, on Oct. 8, Charles sent a set of commands, divided into seven heads, to Mr. Bellenden, Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel Royal, wherein he orders, 'That the book of the form of our Coronation, lately used, be put in a little box, and laid into a standard, and committed to the care of the Deans of the Chapel successively.' To search for this particular book would now probably be mere waste of time, although it is possible that its discovery may one day reward the investigations of some literary and antiquarian student. In the meanwhile, the two available accounts, viz., the draft by Laud's secretary directing what was to take place, with the Prayers at length, and the description by Sir James Balfour, as Lyon King, of

* Sic.

what actually did take place, supply all, and indeed more than all, which the actual book used could be expected to contain. From a comparison of the two it is evident that Sir James wrote his description with the draft before him, and he seems only to have altered it where he had to fill in some detail, such as the name of the person charged with some particular duty, which the draft had left undetermined, or where some change had been deliberately made subsequent to the composition of the draft, or where again the persons concerned, such as the King or Archbishop Spotswood, or others, departed, either intentionally or by inadvertence, from the lines assigned to them. The object of the following pages is to construct from the two accounts, along with such scanty additional information as can be gleaned from elsewhere, as full and correct a description as possible of the remarkable historical ceremony in question.

The reader will have already remarked that the draft was printed from a copy in the very handwriting of Dell, secretary to Laud, then Bishop of London. Its source is therefore evident. It is Laud's composition. It is an alien production, of English manufacture, sent down beforehand. The tone in which it is composed is as dictatorial as we might expect under the circumstances. Hence Sir James Balfour's editor is mistaken in saying that it 'reflects so much credit on the professional exertions of the Lord Lyon.' Sir James, from loyalty to his Sovereign, no doubt took pains to have it well carried out; but although he goes so far as to say that it 'was the most glorious and magnific coronation that ever was seen in this kingdom,' it may be regarded as more than doubtful whether he particularly liked it. He was a Scotchman, and Laud an Englishman; he was the official Master of national State ceremonies, and Laud was an alien clergyman; he was a moderate Covenanter as regarded both religion and politics, and Laud was—well, William Laud. In none of these capacities can it be supposed that it was agreeable to the Lord Lyon King of Arms to be dictated to and ordered about by him. At the same time, it is more than probable that he supplied Laud with some of the matter out of which the latter constructed his Ritual. It is quite true that the

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Ritual in question, which will presently be discussed, looks somewhat like an abridged excerpt from the middle of the English Pre-Reformation Coronation Service — inexcusably murdered in translation, and filled with blunders founded upon a misapprehension of the Mediæval rites. But it is not unlikely that the Mediæval Scottish and English Coronation services may have had a good deal in common, and Laud's composition presents some features which he is not likely to have invented, which are not in the English rite, some of which are found in the ceremonial used at the Coronations of the Kings of France at Rheims, and some of which are quite peculiar. These may very possibly be reproductions of old Scottish national usages now lost. The heading of Laud's form is:—*The Form of Coronation, and Rites to be used therein; collected from other the like Solemnities used in this Kingdom.* As the form was intended for Scotland, it seems most likely that by 'this Kingdom' Scotland is meant. Now, it must be remembered that it was the duty of the Lyon to keep careful records of all State ceremonies such as Coronations. We owe the loss of them to the ravages of Cromwell. Sir James Balfour possessed them.* It is very probable that he may have been commanded to supply Laud with copies of them, and that these may be in fact the 'other like Solemnities' referred to. It is this possibility—namely, that, such as it is, it is our only existing representative of earlier forms—which invests Laud's new Coronation Service with its main interest in the eyes of the student of Scottish Mediæval History. To the student of the epoch of the Covenant it has an important position of its own.

The late James Grant, in his *Memorials of Edinburgh Castle*,

* The selection of papers from Sir James' MSS. in the Advocates' Library printed in 1837 contains two such pieces, purporting to be accounts of the Coronations of Alexander III. and Robert II. It is useless here to discuss them, but it may be said generally that they are both obvious fictions, although they contain what appear to be some valuable grains of truth. Probably Sir James regarded them in this light, and therefore did not place them among the official records—hence they have survived while the records perished.

says that Charles had wished the Scottish Regalia to be taken to England, in order that he might be crowned with them there. It is to be hoped that Grant's authority for this statement was not a good one, but such extraordinary errors of tact and taste were committed that almost anything is credible. The choice of the place of the Coronation, as it was, was singular. It has been the custom in most Christian countries that the Sovereign should be crowned, not in his actual capital, but at some spot identified with the more sacred and early traditions of the race. Hence the Kings of England were crowned, not in London, but at Westminster; the Kings of France, not in Paris, but at Rheims; the Kings of Spain, not at Madrid, but at Toledo; the Kings of Poland, not at Warsaw, but at Cracow; the Kings of Sweden, not at Stockholm, but at Upsala. Similarly, we now see the Emperors of Russia crowned, not at St. Petersburg, but at Moscow. In the same way, it had been the custom, since a period lost in the obscurity of ages, for the Kings of Scots to be crowned at Scone, which had been the seat of the Pictish Monarchy before the Eighth Century. There is no record (subsequently to the union of the Pictish and Scottish Crowns) earlier than the case of Malcolm IV. in 1153, when it is then mentioned, as a sort of matter of course, that he was made King at Scone. When the feature is first recorded, it is as an immemorial tradition. There had been only four known exceptions to the rule. The latest of these was that of James VI., who was crowned when aged thirteen months, at Stirling, where he was living, and when there was no church at Scone except a mass of blackened ruins. The second was Mary, also crowned at Stirling, where she was living, when less than nine months of age. The next was James III., who was just nine years old when James II. was killed at the siege of Roxburgh: the widowed Queen and her son at once hurried to the theatre of war; they arrived at Kelso on the Friday, and James was crowned there on the Sunday, the day-week of his father's death. The earliest instance was that of James II. After the murder of James I. at Perth, Feb. 21, 1435, the Queen brought her son, aged four years, to Edinburgh Castle for safety, and he was crowned at

Holyrood in the succeeding month. This exceptional case therefore was the only precedent for the Coronation of a King at Holyrood, where otherwise there had been celebrated only the Coronations of Queens Consort. At the time Mr. Dell wrote the draft, Charles had not made up his mind where the ceremony should take place. He ultimately pitched upon Holyrood. What considerations determined him to adopt this strange innovation must be matter of conjecture. There was no church at Scone except the small one built upon the Mote Hill eight years previously by Lord Stormont—the same in which the Coronation of Charles II. was to be celebrated, eighteen years later, by the Covenanters. The taste of Charles and Laud was so unhappy that they may have been blind to the halo of ideal and historic grandeur which would have surrounded the ceremony at Scone, and simply sought for a theatre for an imposing show. It is possible, however, that such a low and childish motive was not the real one. There may well have been one of a more dreadful character. Scone had been the very property of the Earl of Gowrie, and Perth the scene of his death. We know not what was the opinion of Charles upon the subject of that mystery. There is a story to the effect that Anne of Denmark expressed a foreboding that the blood of the so-called conspirators would be visited upon the then unborn fruit of her womb. Whatever may have been the case, there was enough to cover both Perth and Scone in the imagination of Charles with a sinister shadow, and it is well conceivable that this was the reason why he shrank from them.

Charles started from Whitehall on Saturday, May 11. The scale on which he travelled was astounding. It was a perfect migration. His very barber had three servants and three horses. A chapel choir, consisting of a subdean, twelve choirmen, three choristers, two organists, and four clerks of the vestry, alone were sent round by sea, but the spiritual requirements of the King were provided for by two Bishops (one of them being Laud), two Deans, and four more chaplains, who were given allowances for more than fifty horses and more than forty servants. The total number of horses for which

the King allowed maintenance was eleven hundred and seventy-nine, of which the Marquess of Hamilton, as Master of the Horse, had 202; and the number of servants, or rather of servants' servants, nine hundred and eight. Clarendon, in his *History of the Rebellion*, appears a good deal staggered at the enormous expenses into which everyone, as it were with a common consent, seemed to plunge, and in which the maintenance of the above Royal retinue was only one incident. At the same time, and while it is to be deplored that Scottish families should have shackled if not crippled themselves with debt for the purpose of entertaining, it must be remembered that the public splendour of a Court and a Coronation afford as much enjoyment to the poor as to the rich, that vast sums of money were brought into the country, and that the general result of the expenditure must have been to transfer the wealth of the entertainers to the working classes by whom the entertainments were prepared.

The whole episode of the first journey of Charles I. to Scotland is replete with the highest historical interest, both social and ecclesiastical, and the present writer cannot but feel a certain pang as the exigencies of space compel him to hurry to the only real object of these pages—a description of and discussion on the Ritual used at the Coronation ceremony. In a general way, and as a series of public spectacles and private and public entertainments, the whole thing was a great success. 'It cannot be denied,' says Clarendon, that 'the whole behaviour of that nation towards the English was as generous and obliging as could be expected; and the King appeared with no less lustre at Edinburgh than at Whitehall; and in this pomp his Coronation passed with all the solemnity and evidence of public joy that can be imagined.' He arrived at Berwick upon Saturday, June 4. As Hetherington has well observed, 'the most enthusiastic reception was given to their monarch by a people who were almost instinctively loyal, and who were prone to gratify him in everything which their higher allegiance to God could permit.' On Wednesday, June 12, he advanced from Berwick to Dunglas, on Thursday to Seton, and on Friday to Dalkeith. On Saturday the 15th

he made his state entry into Edinburgh, and took up his abode at Holyrood. On the Sunday he remained in the Palace, attending the performance of the English service,* when a sermon was delivered by Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane. The same day he received the Polish Ambassador.

The Monday was the eve of the Coronation. The general habit of Christendom had prescribed that the sovereign should prepare himself for this important moment in fasting, retirement, and prayer. The Roman Pontifical directs a fast of three days, and such seems to have been the Scottish custom also, for the Covenanters in 1650 prepared for the Coronation by two national fasts. The Kings of England, on arriving at Westminster from the Tower, passed the evening in prayer and meditation upon subjects to which the *Liber Regalis* devotes a beautiful page, and were attended for their assistance in this purpose by the Abbat of Westminster. The Kings of France went in State to the Cathedral of Rheims, where they took part in the evening service and heard a sermon upon the occasion, after which they invariably confessed, either in the church or, for greater stillness, privately in the Archiepiscopal Palace. Sometimes they remained in the church, watching in prayer. In any case, the evening was given to retirement and to God. Far other were the proceedings of Charles. With a perverse ingenuity by which he seemed to succeed in thrusting upon his subjects every needless Mediævalism that could irritate them, and omitted any Mediævalism that was beautiful and good, he selected this evening to be passed at an huge banquet. It would seem as if the old Scottish custom had been the same as that of France, and that Charles at one time intended to adhere to it, for the draft form says that 'the evening before, the King would be at service in chapel, besides his private devo-

* Mr. Lawson (*Episcopal Church of Scotland*, I., 454) says the service took place in the Chapel Royal, i.e., the Abbey Church; but this is not the statement of any contemporary whose account the present writer has read, and it looks to him very like an assumption made in momentary forgetfulness of the condition in which the church must have been in preparation for the ceremony of Tuesday.

tion, whereof the Bishop of Dunblane, now Dean of the Chapel, must have care to remember His Majesty.' Perhaps he heard the afternoon service, but it can hardly be regarded as possible that he went to chapel, as this would assume that all the preparations for next day were completed; and this again would have necessitated a sort of State Coronation Eve Service, such as was attended by the Kings of France, a thing which could not well have remained entirely unrecorded. All that we hear of is the State reception of the Duke of Arschot's* two sons, the Prince de Chimay, and his brother; the creation of the Earl of Angus as Marquess of Douglas, with the dubbing of six knights, and, about four in the afternoon, of Lord Dupplin as Earl of Kinnoull, and the dubbing of five more knights, the trumpets playing out of the windows, &c. 'About seven hours at even,' says Spalding, 'His Majesty came up from the Abbey to the Castle of Edinburgh by coach, with whom were the Duke of Lennox and Marquess of Hamilton, and his foot-guard running round about his coach; [there] followed sixteen other coaches furnished with nobles and courtiers. The Captain of the Castle saluted His Majesty coming up the gate with 52 shot of great ordinance. Thereafter he went in and supped in the Castle most magnificently, served by his own officers, and with his own provision, vessels, and plate, and stayed there all night.' Sir James Balfour, however, says that he 'was feasted by the old Earl of Mar, Captain thereof, with a great many of the Scotch and English nobility, where he rested that night.' He also says, as if it were before the banquet, that when at the Castle, 'he did his private devotions.' The whole object of this expedition to the Castle seems to have been merely to have the next morning the equestrian procession through the streets, as to which it will be necessary to speak presently.

Row tells us that the Abbey Church of Holyrood 'was magnificently prepared for the purpose' of the ceremony. It was

* Archot (Latin, *Arscotium*) in Brabant, a Duchy belonging to the family of the Dukes of Croy. The young gentlemen were probably among those of whom Sir James says that 'to behold these triumphs and ceremonies many strangers of great quality resorted hither from divers countries.' He quaintly spells the titles *Arscotte* and *Shemej*.

probably hung with tapestry, as has been the usual European custom on such occasions, and would have had at least the choir spread with Turkey carpets. The Communion Table was placed at or towards the East end. It was covered with tapestry, and furnished with two clasped books, which stood up on it, and appear to have been merely for ornament and never used: Spalding, indeed, evidently suspected them of being simple dummies, for he speaks of them as 'two books at least resembling clasped books, called blind books.' It was also adorned with a basin (doubtless a large alms-dish) between two candlesticks provided with wax candles, which were not lighted.* Spalding continues—'At the back of this altar there was a rich tapestry, wherein the crucifix was curiously wrought; and as the Bishops who were in service' (i.e. officiating) 'passed by this crucifix, they were seen to bow their knee and beck' (i.e. bend the head) 'which, with their habit' (i.e. the dress of Spotswood and his companions, of which hereafter), 'was noted, and bred great fear of inbringing of Popery—for the which they were all deposed, as is set down in these papers.' Directly in front of the Communion Table was placed a little kneeling-desk, covered with a rich piece of embroidery in gold and green silk, and provided with cushions. Here the King seems to have knelt first during the prayer, 'O God, who dost visit,' and later on, from the close of the hymn *Veni Creator* until he rose to be unrobed for the anointing, probably also at the Communion, and possibly when making his oblation at the Offertory.

At the North end of the Communion Table, and close to it, was erected a pulpit covered with crimson velvet hangings. Beside the pulpit there was placed a Chair of State, in which

* The description is almost identical with the representations of the Communion Table in Westminster Abbey, in the illustrated accounts of the Coronations of Charles II. and James VII. (II.) Spalding's expression about the candles is that they were 'on lichtit,' which certainly looks rather cognate to 'on fire;' but everyone has understood it to mean 'unlighted,' and that interpretation is in accordance with the interesting tradition of *cera lumina*, which is so distinctive of Anglican Cathedrals and Chapels Royal.

the King sat during the Unction. This was a very extraordinary innovation, probably made in ignorance. According to all Mediæval precedent, he ought to have been anointed kneeling before the altar. The anointing itself, however, seems to have been regarded by Charles and his advisers, not as a symbolical act accompanying prayer, but as a sort of homage and investiture, cognate to the imposition of the crown. Hence the attitude. As for the location, it is evidently a funny instance of what is called in Ritualistic circles 'North-end-ing.' They seem to have found that the Mediæval Kings were anointed before the Archbishop's seat; and as a Bishop or Archbishop has his normal seat on the North side, on the North side they put the King. It appears from the draft form that the kneeling-desk in the middle had been originally intended to belong to this chair. Probably the change was dictated by considerations of practical convenience, as well as of seemliness. To the West of the pulpit and Chair of State, and as it were down the North side of the Sanctuary, were placed two forms covered with tapestry, for Archbishop Spotswood and the other five officiating Prelates.

At the South end of the Communion Table was a traverse or screen covered with crimson taffety, to act as a sort of dressing and retiring room for the King 'to repose and disrobe himself.' It must have come very close to the Table, as Sir James mentions that when Charles was disrobed, he went to the Communion Table, and stood 'with his back close into it.' The whole device was clumsy and needless. In the Roman rite a pavilion is prepared in the Cathedral, to and from which the King goes in State during the ceremony, there to have the traces of the oil removed, and to assume the Royal Robes. In the case of England, the Sovereign is not clad in the Royal Robes during the ceremony, but in a peculiar set of garments called the Imperial or Coronation Robes, which are used on this occasion only, and at the close of the service he retires behind the traverse or screen of the High Altar of Westminster Abbey into the Chapel of St. Edward the Confessor, where he takes off the Coronation Robes and puts on the Royal Robes, in which he then leaves the church. Now, neither of these features was

going to occur. The case in Scotland was going to be exactly the same as in France. The King was going to assume the Royal Robes at the Altar, with prayer, as part of the ceremony. Hence, as in France, there ought to have been no retiring-room. If the King had been by chance taken ill during the proceedings, he could have left the church for a time and gone into the sacristy or into a room in the adjoining Palace. The blunder of inventing this meaningless traverse was probably founded upon a superficial knowledge of the Roman and English forms, with an absence of consideration as to their meanings and *raisons d'être*. Close to the South end of the Communion Table, probably against the taffety traverse, was a little table covered with green velvet laced and fringed with gold, upon which the Regalia and Great Seal were to lie. This is an interesting feature. In the Roman and English rites the Regalia are placed upon the altar. The Holyrood arrangement seems to point to some earlier Scottish custom of placing the Regalia, as in France, upon a separate table near it. West of this table, and seemingly facing directly the seats of the officiating Prelates, was placed another Chair of State, of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, with a foot-stool and cushions to match, and before it a little table, also covered with crimson velvet fringed and laced with gold, upon which lay a Bible in a rich cover. This seems to have been either a mistake or an alteration, as the draft form prescribes that this second chair should have a fald-stool and cushions, and should be set, not in this place, but upon the same platform as the throne, to the right of the latter, viz., at the South East corner. The technical word *fald-stool*, which properly means a stool which it is possible to sit upon, or to kneel against, resting the elbows upon it, and which may have arms, but never a back, seems to have baffled the Edinburgh upholsterers in both cases, for in one instance they represented it by a kneeling-desk, and in the other by a table. This supplementary Chair of State seems to be quite peculiar to England, and to have been introduced upon the platform in order to give the Sovereign a place whence he could hear the sermon from the pulpit with more ease than if at the Altar, and also be plainly

and easily seen during what is called the Recognition by the People, without occupying the throne, which he should not do before the enthronement. It will be hereafter pointed out that its introduction into Scotland on this occasion would seem to have been entirely gratuitous.

The throne itself stood upon a platform erected in the middle of the church. All the Eastern part of the Church of Holyrood having now been destroyed, it is not possible to be very dogmatic as to what this means, but we know that the building had transepts, and that the platform was square and fastened to four pillars, and we may therefore conjecture that these four pillars were the piers of the lantern, as in the corresponding case at Westminster. Although the choir were not surpliced, the men being in black gowns and the boys in sad-coloured coats,* they had been recently provided with stalls; but it does not appear whether these stalls were to the West of the lantern, as in Spanish Cathedrals and at Westminster, or to the East—i.e., between the platform and the sanctuary, as in most churches. The dimensions of the platform had been left to local discretion, except that it had to be fastened to four pillars. Its length and breadth were therefore regulated by the size of the building, and were twenty-four feet. It was about four feet high from the ground, and surrounded with a railing, rails and platform being overspread with carpets and tapestry. There was a wide opening in the railing, both towards the East and West, with a flight of three steps. In the midst was the throne, facing Eastwards and placed upon a second and smaller platform about two feet high, ascended by as many steps.

This whole arrangement was intensely English, and there is every reason to suppose that nothing like it had ever been seen in Scotland before. In what may be called the normal Ritual of Western Coronations, the Sovereign has only two places. The first of these is a simple faldstool without arms, in the middle of the Sanctuary, in front of the Altar, where he sits facing the officiating Prelate, who has another faldstool at

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, ii., 347.

the foot of the Altar-steps. The second is the throne, which he does not occupy till the enthronization. The throne is always raised upon a platform. In the Roman rite it is upon the South side of the Sanctuary, directly facing and corresponding with the throne of the Bishop, and is often a permanent structure, being always occupied by the Sovereign upon other State occasions as well as at his Coronation. In France it was upon the top of the choir-screen, in fact, on the rood-loft, and was a temporary structure used only for Coronations. In England, it was an equally temporary structure, on a stage under the lantern of Westminster Abbey. In Scotland, the extreme rapidity with which some Coronations took place after the death of the preceding or the election of the reigning Sovereign—to wit, in the cases of William the Lion, Alexander II., Alexander III., John, Robert I., James III., James IV., and James VI.—renders it either totally impossible or highly improbable that such elaborate preparations could possibly have been made. Yet nothing is noticed as exceptional upon these occasions. Everything points to the simple Italian plan. There was probably a permanent throne facing that of the Bishop or Abbat, in all the principal churches, at least in such as the King was likely often to attend, and especially in the Coronation church of Scone. It is of course possible that there may have been exceptional cases, say, in such instances as those of Robert III., James I., or James V., of which Laud knew but we do not, but it is a much more natural supposition that he was simply importing his English notions.

Besides these three places for the King, above named, there was prepared a fourth, namely, a chair placed at the side of the Westernmost pillar close to the main door of entry.

We know nothing more as to the arrangement of Holyrood church, beyond the fact that the draft form directs that 'round about on the right and left hands of the stage, there must be scaffolds for Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen of the Chamber, and others, to rest and behold.' It is probable, therefore, that the church was filled with scaffoldings and galleries, like Westminster Abbey upon similar occasions. The Peers probably sat along the sides of the platform, as in

England. It is singular that there is no mention of Peeresses, who have a recognised place in England, nor of any other ladies, nor is there any mention of the Commons Members of Parliament, which had, however, already met.

Six Prelates were to take part in the Service, and on the morning of the Coronation Day five of them seem to have assembled in the church, assumed their robes, and there awaited the arrival of the King. The principal of these was Archbishop Spotswood, who was to officiate, a duty attached to his See of St. Andrews, in accordance with the Bull of Pope John XXI., of June 13, 1329. The others were Bellenden of Dunblane (Dean of the Chapel), Lindsay of Dunkeld, Lindsay of Brechin, and Maxwell, elect of Ross. The sixth was Guthrie of Moray, who had been appointed acting Lord High Almoner for the time, and was in that capacity to accompany the King to the church, where he must have assumed his vestments after his arrival. The general belief has been that these six were the only Prelates who could be induced to brave the probable ire of the General Assembly by wearing the vestments and going through the Ritual. It has to be observed, however, that they correspond in number to the six Ecclesiastical Peers of France, and that it is quite possible that this is another instance of an old Scottish custom assimilating to that of Rheims.

On the morning of June 18, the King was specially attired for the ceremony. His shirt was made with openings or slits, not only upon the breast but also over the spine between the shoulder-blades, over the shoulders and at the elbows. Over this he wore a red silk coat, with slits corresponding to those in the shirt underneath, and fastened with loops. This coat was a substitute for the long red silk tunic worn on these occasions by other Sovereigns, and its curtailed shape was doubtless a modification introduced by Charles to favour the exceptional equestrian performance which he contemplated, and of which he has every claim to be honoured as the patentee. He was clad over all in a Princely Robe of crimson velvet, the train of which appears to have been of prodigious length, and must have been carried throughout the proceed-

ings by the five gentlemen named as doing so in the Procession. It appears also from his Coronation piece that he wore the Collar of the Thistle when crowned, and therefore probably did so from the beginning. He of course wore the Garter, in accordance with the statutes of that order. Thus attired, and doubtless attended by some of his household, he seems to have proceeded from his bed-room into the Presence Chamber, where he found the Duke of Lennox, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, the Earl of Erroll, Lord High Constable, and the Earl Marischal, awaiting him. The Constable and Marischal carried their batons of office in their hands, and continued to do so all day. Here also were probably the Peers carrying the Regalia, and the Officers of State, who also, no doubt, preceded him as he next passed from the Presence Chamber into the Great Hall of Edinburgh Castle—the same which is now undergoing, by the patriotic munificence of an individual Scot, the process of restoration.

In this Hall were already assembled the Peers, Bishops, and deputies of the Commons. Of the latter we know nothing, except that there were six County and as many Burgh Members. Their names have not been preserved, nor is it mentioned whether they took any part in the procession or were assigned any places in the Church. The Bishops appear to have been, besides Guthrie of Moray, who was acting as Lord High Almoner, Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow, Graham of Orkney, Leslie of the Isles, Abernethy of Caithness, Boyd of Argyll, Lamb of Gallo-way, and perhaps Forbes of Aberdeen. These were all attired in black gowns. A great deal has been made of this circumstance, as if they had been unwilling or afraid to assume the more showy dress worn by the Prelates who officiated in the Church. It is, of course, possible that such may have been the case. But it has already been pointed out that the six Prelates who joined in the service correspond to the number of the Peers of France, and that this may be the survival of a Scoto-French tradition. Moreover, it was necessary that some at least of the Bishops should go with the Peers and representatives of the Counties and Burghs, since the Prelates then constituted one of the Estates of Parliament. Their dress also

was in conformity with other precedents. The Roman Pontifical directs that only the Bishops who await the King in the church, should wear sacred vestments, and that those who accompany him to it should not do so. Similarly, on the occasion of the Coronation of the Kings of France, to which the Mediæval usage of Scotland is very likely to have been analogous, sacred vestments were only worn by the six Ecclesiastical Peers and by the other Prelates who actually officiated. Any farther Bishops of France, as well as the Cardinals, who were present at the King's invitation, did not wear them, even in the church.

The Lay Peers, down to the rank of Viscount, inclusive, were arrayed in robes of crimson velvet, and seem to have carried their coronets in their hands. Judging by the list at the subsequent Riding of Parliament, they seem to have been the Marquesses of Douglas and Huntly, the twenty-seven Earls, of Lothian, Lauderdale, Annandale, Seaforth, Galloway, Haddington, Roxburgh, Tullibardine, Abercorn, Kinghorn, Wigton, Dunfermline, Perth, Linlithgow, Wintoun, Nithisdale, Moray, Casillis, Eglinton, Buchan, Morton, Rothes, Airth and Menteith, Mar, Dumfries, Queensberry, and Stirling, the two Viscounts Stormont and Kenmure, and twenty-six Barons, viz., the Lords Dalzell, Assheton of Forfar, Napier, Melville, Deskford, Cranston, Cupar, Halyrudhous, Balfour of Burleigh, Blantyre, Colville, Balmerino, Loudoun, Spynie, Torphichen, Ogilvie, Lovat, Elphinstone, Herries, Sinclair, Sempill, Yester, Lindsay, Oliphant, Almond, and Kirkcudbright.*

* As there is no actual list of the Peers who took part in the Coronation a few names in the above may be wrong. It is compiled from the official list of Parliament on the Thursday following, printed among the Acts, and from Sir James Balfour's list of the persons who took part in the Riding of that Parliament the day before, compared with his lists of the absent Peers, the notices of the new creations, etc. An element of difficulty is introduced by the number of changes of designation which the fresh creations, now daily occurring, brought in. As to some, the accounts are contradictory: for instance, Sir James Balfour (IV. 362) says that the Bishop of Aberdeen rode on June 19, but the Parliamentary list omits him, and Spalding (I. 31) gives an account of the state to which he had been reduced by apoplexy, which makes his presence seem very doubtful.

The King entered the Hall walking between the Great Constable on his right and the Marischal on his left, and conducted by the Great Chamberlain, by whom he was led to a Chair of State placed under a canopy. It was now about 8 A.M.

When Charles had taken his seat, the Lord Chancellor, the newly created Earl of Kinnoull, made to him, in the name of the Estates of the Kingdom, the following address, of which the King had made sure by sending it down beforehand. It is to be found at full length in Dell's draft:—

‘SIR,—The Estates of this your native and ancient Kingdom, calling to mind the great happiness which they enjoyed under the government of Your Majesty's Father (of blessed memory), and acknowledging Your Highness to be the rightful heir of this crown by a long and lawful descent, do beseech Your Majesty to receive them under Your Highness' protection, to govern them by the laws of the Kingdom, and defend them, their rights, and liberties, by your Royal Power—offering their service in most humble manner to Your Majesty, with their vows to bestow land, life, and what else is in their power, for the safety of Your Majesty's Sacred Person and maintenance of your Crown—which they entreat Your Majesty to accept, and pray Almighty God that you may happily and for many years enjoy the same.’

Charles replied, also according to the draft form:—

‘I do esteem your affections more than the crowns of many kingdoms, and will, by God's assistance, bestow my life for your defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see this Kingdom flourish in all happiness.’

The Coronation Procession then immediately started. The innovation which Charles made upon this occasion is one of the most extraordinary of the whole. The universal practice of Christendom hitherto seems to have been that the procession which conveys the Sovereign to the church where he is to be crowned, upon the morning of his Coronation Day, should be of a semi-religious character, and proceed on foot. It is also quite short, e.g., at Westminster from the Palace to the Abbey, and at Rheims from the Archbishop's Palace to the Cathedral, and the way is carpetted: indeed, a platform is usually erected

for the whole of the short distance. The parallel course would have been for Charles to walk across the great court of Holyrood Palace, but he determined to cast all such notions to the winds, revolutionized the established usage of ages, and settled to have a procession upon horseback. This is all the more curious, because, to judge by the order which he sent from Dalkeith the day before his entry into Edinburgh, to the effect that the salute from the Castle must be over before he mounted his state charger (Balfour's *Annals*, iv., 360), he would not appear to have been always entirely at his ease on horseback. Of a sense of the ridiculous he was clearly destitute, or the notion of the triumphal procession of an itinerant circus must have struck him at once. It was clearly to indulge this singular fancy that he had made the cumbrous and otherwise senseless journey to the Castle the night before. It is also to be remarked that the idea was a new one, which had occurred to him subsequently to the composition of the draft form, wherein it seems to be taken for granted that he would walk, though he was only to be received under the canopy at the church door. It is there said that 'they march,' and that 'two of the Brethren walk' beside the Lyon, who is to carry the vessel of oil in his hand, a thing he neither could nor did do on horseback.

The procession thus organised advanced, riding two and two, in the following order:—

Six trumpeters clad in scarlet and gold.

The Barons.

The Bishops.

The Viscounts.

The Earls.

(Both the Viscounts and the Earls had each of them a gentleman walking by their left stirrup, carrying their coronet).

Patrick Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow.

The Earl of Haddington, Lord Privy Seal.

The Earl of Morton, Lord Treasurer.

The Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Chancellor.

The Six Pursuivants.

The English York Herald.

The Six Heralds, in their tabards.

The English Norroy King of Arms.

The Bishop of Moray, as Lord High Almoner for the day, with the Master of Requests upon his left hand.

Sir James Balfour, as Lord Lyon King of Arms, between two Gentlemen Ushers, his crown carried beside his left stirrup.

The Spurs, carried by the Earl of Eglinton.

The Sword, carried by the Earl of Buchan.

The Sceptre, carried by the Earl of Rothes.

The Crown, carried by the Marquess of Douglas. On his right hand rode the Great Constable, the Earl of Erroll, and on his left the Great Chamberlain, the Duke of Lennox, on whose left again rode the Earl Marischal.

Then came Charles himself, with three gentlemen of his stable walking upon each side of his horse. The animal was adorned with a foot-cloth embroidered in silver and pearls. As Charles had his extensive train carried after him, or rather after his charger, the effect—especially from behind, where the head of the equestrian at the top and the hind-legs of the quadruped below must have appeared as united into one grotesque hybrid by the voluminous garments which formed the common covering of both—must have been exceedingly odd.* Whether the bearers of the train were mounted or on foot we are not informed. They were five in number, and were the Lord Lorne, eldest son of the Earl of Argyle—the same famous man who was afterwards created Marquess in 1641, crowned Charles II. at Scone in 1651, and was beheaded in 1661; the Lord Dalkeith, eldest son of the Lord Treasurer, Earl of Morton; the Viscount Annand, eldest son of the Earl of Annandale; the Viscount Dupplin, eldest son of the Lord Chancellor, Earl of Kinnoull; and Sir Robert Gordon, Bart., of Letterfourie, Vice-Chamberlain.

After the King, or rather, the train-bearers, rode the Marquess of Hamilton, as Master of the Horse, mounted upon a

* There is a caricature by the late John Leech, intitled, 'A Warning to Young Ladies riding upon Donkeys,' which exactly represents the effect in question.

Spanish genet with a very rich foot-cloth, and leading another, the most splendidly decorated in the procession.

Then rode the Earl of Suffolk, Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and lastly, the Earl of Holland, Captain of the Guard, followed by the Yeomen of the Guard, on foot, their partisans in their hands and their swords by their sides.

The procession alighted at the entrance of the great court of the Palace, and proceeded on foot across it, along a path covered with blue cloth and railed in on each side. On dismounting, the King was received under a canopy of crimson velvet, laced and fringed with gold, sustained upon six* poles by the Lord Seton, eldest son of the Earl of Wintoun; the Lord Livingston, eldest son of the Earl of Linlithgow; the Lord Fleming, eldest son of the Earl of Wigton; the Lord Binning, eldest son of the Earl of Haddington; the Viscount Maitland, eldest son of the Earl of Lauderdale; and the Viscount Drumlanrig, eldest son of the Earl of Queensberry; and these bearers were assisted by six of the Peers, viz., the Lords Loudoun, Spynie, Balfour of Burleigh, Ramsay, Napier, and Wemyss. On arriving at the West door of the church Charles was at once confronted by the gorgeous spectacle of Spotswood and his brother Prelates arrayed in violet silk cassocks, white rochets and copes of cloth-of-gold,† who had come

* The point is not of much importance, but it is interesting to observe that the draft form directs a canopy with *four* poles, as in England. The alteration seems to indicate that an old Scotch precedent had been subsequently discovered.

† These copes have suffered at least two very strange literary misadventures. The words of Spalding are 'with white rochetis, and white sleives, and koopis of gold, haueing blew silk to thair foot.' Mr. Lawson reproduces them thus—'with white rochets and white sleeves, and loops of gold, having blue silk at their foot.' This is perhaps a misprint. Charles mentions these copes in his letter of Oct. 8, where he gives directions for their custody and use, spelling the word in the usual modern way. The letter may be seen on p. 442 of *The Annals of King James and King Charles the First*, published in London by T. Braddyll, in 1681. But where Stevenson prints the letter again on p. 144 of his *History*, he most strangely substitutes the word *cups*. It is hardly necessary to remark that copes are the vestments always used in Westminster Abbey on similar occasions. They were worn, for instance, at the Jubilee Thanksgiving on June 21 in the present year, 1887.

down, attended by the choir, to receive him. In the entry the King knelt down, then rose and was conducted by the Bishop of Dunblane, as Dean of the Chapel, to the chair by the Westernmost pillar, where he sat down and listened to a short harangue from Mr. James Hannay, preacher of the chapel.* This entirely senseless proceeding is not mentioned in the draft, and looks very like a blundering attempt to follow some subsequently discovered Scottish precedent, in which there was a concurrence with the customs of France. At least, it is only explicable by a comparison with the Coronation ceremonies of that country. When the King of France arrived for the first time at the entrance of the Cathedral of Rheims, he was met by the Archbishop and clergy, knelt, was given Holy Water, kissed a copy of the Gospel carried by a Deacon, prayed for a few instants, then arose, and listened standing to some brief sentences of loyal welcome from the Archbishop; after which the procession advanced, the choir singing. It looks very much as if Laud had discovered a similar custom in Scotland, but had only assimilated the facts that the King first knelt and was then addressed. It is another remarkable instance of the misunderstanding of a Mediæval idea, while leaving out the best part of it. If it had been followed, and Charles had knelt to kiss the Bible, no one could have been otherwise than edified. As it was, he knelt to do nothing except irritate people, and then sat down to hear a wearisome speech.

The Bishop of Dunblane at this time handed to the Lyon a golden vessel containing the oil, which, according to the draft, he ought to have carried throughout the procession — an arrangement which had been frustrated by the King's equestrian innovation. The draft had directed that the vessel should be of silver, following no doubt the precedent of Mediæval Westminster, where the oil was held in a silver and the chrism in a golden box. Probably, however, having only one sort, Laud came to the conclusion that they might as well use the golden phial. The giving of it to a layman to carry

* The same man who was made Dean of Edinburgh, and at whose head Jennie Geddes threw the stool.

was somewhat strange, but may have arisen from the Mediæval abuse of placing laymen, as Commendators, at the head of such Abbeys as Scone and Holyrood, and, in the absence of a Commendator, the office now fell naturally enough to the Lyon. In England also, as in the Roman rite, the oil and chrism were not carried in procession but placed beforehand upon the Altar, but it is conceivable that in Mediæval Scotland the oil may have been so carried in feeble imitation of the procession which bore into the Cathedral of Rheims the *Sainte Ampoule*, there believed to have been miraculously sent down from heaven for the unction of Clovis.

It is interesting to notice that both the draft and Sir James habitually call the oil the *sacred* oil. Who hallowed it is not recorded, and must remain enveloped in the same mystery as the like question at Westminster, a mystery which Mr. Maskell has discussed but not solved.*

Of the contents of Mr. Hannay's address we know nothing. At its close, the King rose and the procession advanced, the canopy being still carried over his head as far as the platform. The choir meanwhile sang an Anthem which is thus described in the draft, 'Behold, Oh Lord our Protector, and look upon the face of thine Anointed, because one day in thy Court is better than a thousand, etc., *Quam dilecta*, etc.' This seems to imply that they sang some strange version of Psalm lxxxiv., from verse 9 onwards; and this has all the appearance of a misunderstanding of a Mediæval service-book, in which the Psalm was directed to be sung entire during the procession, followed by the *Gloria Patri*, and with verse 9 as an Anthem before and after it. If so, we seem again upon the traces of a purely Scottish national custom. Laud was not likely to have invented it, and, as far as the present writer knows, it is not found in any other Coronation Ritual, the Psalm sung in France at this point being Psalm xxi., 'The King shall joy.' If the old Scottish custom were so, a nobler or more beautiful commencement of the Coronation service can hardly be conceived.

* *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesie Anglicane*, II., xxiii., xxiv.

The King ascended the platform, and sat down to rest in the throne. This is a direct violation of one of the clearest and most fundamental rules upon which the old Coronation Rituals are constructed, viz., that the Sovereign must not occupy the throne until he is solemnly inducted into it at the enthronization. If Charles had here followed the English Mediæval rule he would have gone at once to the Chair of State on the South. But this is only one more instance of thoughtless failure to comprehend the models he and his advisers wished to follow.

The Regalia were now delivered, by those who carried them, to the Chief Gentleman Usher, who placed them upon the green Table prepared for them. No mention is made of the Great Seal, as in the draft. Probably it was not used. The Lyon at the same time gave the vessel of oil to Spotswood, who put it on the Communion Table. According to the draft, it ought to have been handed back by the Lyon to Bellenden, and by Bellenden to Spotswood, but this probably struck Sir James as intolerably silly. It may be conjectured that it was also at this point that Bishop Guthrie of Moray, who had arrived with the procession in his black gown, retired and re-appeared in cassock, rochet and golden cope.

All being ready, the King descended from the platform, and took up his position in the Chair of State to the South. David Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin, then mounted the pulpit, and delivered a sermon upon 1 Kings, i. 39, 'And Zadok the Priest took an horn of oil out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said, God save King Solomon.' This sermon has not been preserved. Judging by the length of those of the day, it may be confidently conjectured that it lasted more than an hour. It seems to have been a good one. Spalding remarks that the preacher was 'a prime scholar,' and Row, who was certainly not unduly biassed in favour of the proceedings in general, says that he 'taught a sermon, wherein he had sundry good exhortations to His Majesty for the weil of this Kirk and Kingdom; but so generally uttered that they might have been applied divers ways.'

There is a sermon in the English rite, but it is placed at a later stage. In France it was preached the evening before, and some grounds will presently be submitted for suggesting that such had also been the usage in Mediæval Scotland.

At the conclusion of the sermon Charles again ascended the platform and seated himself in the throne—which, indeed, as far as convenience in hearing the sermon went, he might, owing to the position of the pulpit, have occupied all along. The Archbishop now also ascended the platform, and, accompanied by the Constable and Marischal, and preceded by the Lyon, went successively to each side of it and addressed the people in the following form, during the recitation of which the King stood up and turned successively towards each of the four directions as it was delivered. This arrangement must have had a very awkward effect when he had to look Westwards over the back of his chair, and it was partly to obviate such an inconvenience that the English rite had introduced the peculiar supplementary Chair of State against the South-East pier. At Holyrood, however, as we have seen, this chair had been put below the platform. The proclamation made by Spotswood was this—

‘Sirs,—I do present unto you King Charles, the rightful and undoubted heir of the Crown and dignity of this Realm. This day is by the Peers of the Kingdom appointed for his Coronation. And are you not willing to have him for your King, and to become subject unto him and his commandments?’

This enquiry, in happy compliance with the directions of the draft, was answered by loud shouts of ‘God save King Charles!’

The whole of this last ceremony would seem to have been of purely English importation, and can hardly have had any Scottish precedent. It is obviously the survival of some form of election. Now, in Scotland, if there was any election at all (as in the case of Robert II.), it took place beforehand, and the ceremony of the Coronation Day began by the members of Parliament, as the representatives of the nation, going to the King to offer him the Crown. It was the precise reverse of the English plan. They were not asked if they would have

him, but he was asked if he would have them. This is so very obvious and makes the Holyrood proceeding so essentially foolish that it is really singular that Laud, blundering as he was, did not perceive it.

After this the Archbishop went to his seat near the Communion Table, and all rested while the choir sang an Anthem in these words—

‘Let thine hand be strengthened and thy right hand be exalted. Let judgment be the preparation of thy seat, mercy and truth go before thy face.’

This is followed in both accounts* by the words, ‘Psalm 89, Glory be to the Father, etc.’ It is hard to believe that this very long Psalm—fifty-two verses—was chanted at full length, but the enormous time which the ceremony is known to have lasted, and the fact that the actors are mentioned as now reposing, favour such an interpretation. A suggestion will be made presently that it may, along with its Anthem, have formed a processional at the beginning of Mediæval Scottish Coronations, and for this purpose it would not be too long. In England it seems uncertain whether the Psalm was sung at length at this point, or only the first verse. If we are to understand that the Archbishop of Canterbury assumed his Mass vestments during it (as the *Liber Regalis* may be interpreted to mean), the former is not improbable.

When the singing was over, the King, with the Bishop of Dunblane, as Dean of the Chapel Royal, on his right, and the Bishop of Moray, as Lord High Almoner, on his left, descended from the platform and approached the Communion Table, where he made an oblation which Archbishop Spotswood received in a golden cup. It is not said what the oblation was, but that offered in England was a pound’s weight of pure gold, and it was very likely the same. After giving it the King knelt at the kneeling-desk and Spotswood read over him the following prayer—

* Sir James, either by a slip of the pen or a misprint, is made to say Ps. 80 (instead of 89), but he adds the words *Misericordias Dei* (sic, not *Domini*), so that there is no doubt which Psalm he means.

'O God, Who dost visit those that are humble and dost comfort them by Thine Holy Spirit, send down Thy grace upon this Thy servant King Charles, that by him we may feel Thy presence amongst us. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

'Amen' was answered. This ceremony and prayer are taken from the English rite, to which they are peculiar, but they are here put out of their place. They there occur before the sermon, and just after the assent of the people and the Anthem *Firmetur*. They are therefore as it were the first act of the King, and the *Liber Regalis* specially points out that they are so in order to comply with the precept, *Non appareas vacuus in conspectu Domini Dei tui*—'Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty.'* The position at Holyrood may, however, guide us to another old Scottish custom, harmonizing with that of France. We have seen that the 'Recognition by the People,' as it is called in England, cannot have been part of the Scottish ceremonial at all, and if it be supposed that the sermon was not delivered upon this morning, as in England, but on the preceding evening, as in France, this oblation assumes the first place, with the exception of the anthem *Firmetur* and Ps. lxxxix. These latter, however, have all the appearance of a processional. And the occurrence of another, and seemingly distinctively Scottish, processional Psalm, viz., the lxxxivth, seems to point to two Coronation services, for the evening and the morning respectively, as at Rheims, Ps. lxxxiv. being especially adapted for the evening one, as accompanying the King's first visit to the House of God in connection with his inauguration.†

* The words seem to be meant for a loose reference to Ex. xxiii. 15, and xxiv. 20, which are rendered by the A.V., 'none shall appear before Me empty.' There is also a similar passage in Ecclus. xxxv. 6. It is interesting to observe that in the service drawn up for the Coronation of the present Queen in 1838, it is treated in the most solemn manner as an absolute quotation—'The Queen having thus offered, and so fulfilled his Commandment, who said, Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty, goes to the chair, etc.'

† If anyone read Psalm lxxxix. in the light of this suggestion, the present writer ventures to think that he will be struck by its beautiful appropriate-

After the oblation and prayer, Charles rose and went to sit down in his chair, by which is apparently meant that upon the South side. Here Spotswood followed him and asked him 'if he were willing to take the oath appointed to be given at the Coronation of Kings?' Charles replied that he was willing, and the following prepared dialogue was then gone through :—

Spotswood. 'Sir, will you promise to serve Almighty God to the utmost of your power, as He hath required in His most holy Word, and, according to the same Word, maintain the true Religion of Christ, now preached and professed within this Realm, abolishing and gainstanding all false religions contrary to the same? And will you employ yourself carefully to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, that shall be convicted by the true Church of God of the foresaid crimes?'

Charles. 'I promise faithfully so to do.'

Spotswood. 'Sir, will you promise to rule this people subject to you according to the laws and constitutions received within this Realm, causing judgment and equity to be ministered in all your judgments without partiality, and to procure peace, to the uttermost of your power, to the Church of God, and amongst all Christian people?'

Charles. 'I grant and promise so to do.'

Spotswood. 'Sir, will you likewise promise to preserve and keep inviolated the privileges, rights, and rents of the Crown of Scotland, and not to transfer and alienate the same in any way?'

Charles. 'I promise so to do.'

ness. The tone of humility mingled with trust and thankfulness is especially fitted for that day upon which the King comes to receive a bodily unction as a symbol of the unction which he implores from on high, the occasion on which alone, out of the four Coronation services, the French rite forbids him the use of the canopy, because he then appears not so much as the ruler over men as in the character of a suppliant to God; and the lamentation over the desolation of the crown, followed by joyous hope in the future, express admirably the natural feelings inspired by the death of one Sovereign and the succession of another.

Spotswood. 'Sir, we do also beseech you to grant and preserve unto us of the clergy and to the churches committed to our charge, all Canonical privileges; and that you will defend and protect us, as every good King ought in his Kingdom to defend his Bishops and the churches under their government.'

Charles. 'With a willing heart I grant the same, and promise to maintain you, and every one of you, with all the churches committed to your charge, in your whole rights and privileges, according to law and justice.'

He thereupon rose and went to the Communion Table, where he laid his hands upon the Bible (probably the ornamental copy from the little table, brought by Spotswood on purpose) and said—

'All the things which before I have promised, I shall observe and keep. So help me God, and by the contents of this Book.'

This oath is of considerable interest. The fourth or last clause may be dismissed first. It is the paraphrase of a formula couched in almost unintelligibly barbarous Latin which was used in France before and in England after the Coronation Oath proper. The latter is represented by the three first clauses. These three clauses are all first found in a brief note appended to the earliest Coronation Ritual now known to exist, viz., that in the Pontifical of Archbishop Egbert of York, A.D. 732-767, and they continued to form the essence of the oath taken by the Kings of France and England. It is natural to suppose that they occupied the same place in the Coronation service of the Mediæval Kings of Scots. The passage relating to heretics is an addition, which was made in France, but in a much milder and more cautious form than that in which it here appears.* As John XXI., in

* The words are, 'De terra meâ ac jurisdictione mihi subditâ universos hæreticos ab ecclesiâ denotatos pro viribus bonâ fide exterminare studebo—I will honestly make it an object to remove from my country and from the sphere of jurisdiction subject to me all heretics who shall be denounced by the Church by name.' Perhaps *exterminare*, which literally means 'to put out of bounds,' would be best rendered by 'banish and drive away,' which is the translation now employed by Anglican Bishops at their Consecration.

his Bull, expresses a wish that the Kings of Scots should swear in this sense, it is probable that they did so in the same words as their French brethren. At the Reformation, the Oath underwent a change. In England it was less modified than in Scotland. In Scotland it was incorporated in the Act of James VI., which in 1633 was the legal form of the Scottish Coronation Oath, and according to which Charles II. was sworn by the Covenanters at Scone in 1651. The passage relating to heretics is there developed into a violent and sweeping promise to persecute. Now, Laud's draft form contains an oath modelled upon the English form, and very different to that which, as we learn from Sir James Balfour, was actually taken by Charles. It is evident that there had been a struggle and that the form proposed by Laud had been modified to meet the requirements of the Act of James VI., which is not, however, followed word for word, as it does not profess to give the necessary oath textually but only in substance.*

* The following are the two forms, between which the oath actually taken was a sort of compromise :—

Act of 1567.

— enduring the whole course of their life, they shall serve the same Eternal God to the uttermost of their power, according as He has required in His most holy Word, revealed and contained in the New and Old Testaments. And according to the same Word, shall maintain the true Religion of Jesus Christ, the preaching of His holy Word, and due and right ministration of the Sacraments, now received and preached within this Realm. And shall abolish and gainstand all false religion contrary to the same. And shall rule the people committed to their charge according to the will and command of God revealed in His foresaid Word and according to the loveable laws and con-

Laud's draft form.

Sir, will you promise to serve Almighty God, and, as every good King in His Kingdom ought to do, maintain the Gospel of Jesus Christ in this your Kingdom, against all atheism, profaneness, heresy, schism, or superstition whatsoever?

Sir, will you promise to rule this people, subject to you and committed to your charge, according to the laws, constitutions, and customs of this your Kingdom, causing (in as much as in you lieth) justice and equity to be ministered without partiality? And to endeavour the peace of the Church of Christ and all Christian people?

Sir, will you likewise promise to preserve the rights and privileges of the Crown of Scotland?

With the taking of the Oath, ended the first or more purely secular part of the Coronation service. The ceremony now entered the second stage, which is called by the French the *Sacre* or Consecration of the King, and which centres wholly around the anointing.

It began, as in England, by the singing of the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and here we have again at once to note a deplorable solecism against the proprieties of Mediæval custom. This hymn, it is needless to remark, is, although cast in a metrical shape, a prayer of the most solemn character, and has been for many centuries the special form in which the descent of God the Holy Ghost and the imparting of His Divine gifts has been invoked in the Latin Churches. Hence the ecclesiastical rule that all kneel during the first

stitutions received in this Realm, no-wise repugnant to the said Word of the Eternal God. And shall procure to the uttermost of their power to the whole Kirk of God and whole Christian people true and perfect peace in all time coming. The rights and rents, with all just privileges, of the Crown of Scotland, to preserve and keep unviolated, neither shall they transfer nor alienate the same. They shall forbid and repress, in all estates and degrees, reif, oppression, and all kind of wrong. In all judgments they shall command and procure that justice and equity be kept to all creatures, without exception, as the Lord and Father of mercies be merciful to them. And out of their lands and empire they shall be careful to root out all heretics, and enemies to the true worship of God that shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God of the foressaid crimes. And that they shall faithfully affirm the things above written, by their solemn oath.

Sir, we do also beseech (and so on, as actually used).

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verse, and, except for some special purpose, stand during the rest, while in England, when it was sung upon the occasion of the Coronation, the King lay prostrate upon his face upon the ground until it was finished. Not such was the idea of Charles and Laud. After the oath he returned, as directed by the draft form, to his Chair of State, meaning, seemingly, that on the South, and, as his kneeling is afterwards mentioned as a change, the presumption is that he sat during the hymn, although it is, of course, just possible that he stood.

It was no doubt sung according to the old version * contained not only in the Anglican Prayer-Book at that time but also in the so-called *John Knox' Psalter*, which was then the authorized Psalm-Book of the Church of Scotland.

' Come, Holy Ghost, Eternal God,
 Proceeding from above,
 Both from the Father and the Son,
 The God of peace and love—
 Visit our minds, and into us
 Thine heavenly grace inspire,
 That in all truth and godliness
 We may have true desire.

' Thou art the very Comforter
 In all woe and distress ;
 The Heavenly gift of God Most High
 Which no tongue can express,
 The Fountain and the Lively Spring
 Of joy celestial,
 The Fire so bright, the Love so clear,
 And Unction Spiritual.

* This version is in the English Ordinal of 1549. The present Anglican Prayer Book, in the Ordinal, contains a pitifully disfigured edition of it as an alternative from the shorter paraphrase by Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham after the Restoration. The recent *Scottish Hymnal* contains no less than three versions of the *Veni Creator*, but has carefully 'boycotted' the old one, so long an authorized formula of the Church of Scotland. Of the three which it gives, the first—No. 54—is that of Bishop Cosin from the new Anglican Ordinal, already mentioned. The second—No. 55—is ascribed to Dryden, who, as is well known, after his conversion to Catholicism, rendered many of the Breviary hymns into English. The third—No. 56—is the modern paraphrase by Miss Catherine Winkworth.

'Thou in Thy gifts art manifold
Whereby Christ's Church doth stand,
In faithful hearts writing Thy law,
The Finger of God's hand.
According to Thy promise made,
Thou gavest speech of grace,
That through Thine help the praise of God
May stand in every place.

'O Holy Ghost ! into our wits
Send down Thine heavenly light ;
Kindle our hearts with fervent love
To serve God day and night,
Strengthen and stablish our weakness,
So feeble and so frail,
That neither flesh, the world, nor devil
Against us do prevail.

'Put back our enemies far from us,
And grant us to obtain
Peace in our hearts with God and man,
Without grudge or disdain.
And grant, O Lord, that, Thou being
Our Ruler and our Guide,
We may eschew the snares of sin
And from Thee never slide.

'To us such plenty of Thy grace,
Good Lord, grant, we Thee pray,
That Thou may'st be our Comforter
At the last dreadful day :
Of all strife and dissension,
O Lord, dissolve the bands,
And make the knots of peace and love
Throughout all Christian lands.

'Grant us, O Lord, through Thee to know
The Father of all might,
That of His dear-beloved Son
We may obtain the sight,
And that with perfect faith also
We may acknowledge Thee,
The spirit of Them both alway—
One God in Persons Three.

'Laud and praise be to the Father,
 And to the Son equal,
 And to the Holy Spirit also,
 One God co-eternal :
 And we pray that the only Son
 Vouchsafe his Spirit to send
 To all that do profess his Name,
 Unto the world's end.'

When the hymn was ended the King knelt at the faldstool, by which seems to be meant the kneeling-desk in front of the Altar,* and the Archbishop offered the following prayer:—

'We beseech Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, for this Thy servant King Charles, that, as at first Thou broughtest him into the world by Thy Divine Providence, and in the flower of his youth hast preserved him until this present time, so Thou wilt evermore enrich him with the gift of piety, fill him with the grace of truth, and daily increase in him all goodness, that he may happily enjoy the Seat of Supreme Government, by the gift of Thy supernal grace, and, being defended from all his enemies by the wall of Thy mercy, may prosperously govern the people committed to his charge.'

This prayer is a very indifferent translation of that beginning 'Te invocamus, Domine Sancte, Pater Omnipotens, Eterne Deus,' which is found in the earliest Coronation Service now probably extant, namely, in the Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.D. 732-767, already mentioned.

Immediately after this prayer, the Litany was sung by Bishop Guthrie of Moray, and Maxwell, Bishop elect of Ross. The description of this is a little obscure. The draft form has 'and at the close thereof this is to be added:—"That it may please Thee to keep and strengthen in the true worshipping of Thee, in righteousness and holiness of life, this Thy servant Charles, our King and Governor"—and so to the end.' Sir James Balfour also says that 'after the close thereof [i.e. of the Litany] this was added—,' giving the same clause as in the

* Sir James Balfour says he knelt at *his footstool*, but it is surely more likely to be a slip of the pen than to imply that he merely knelt on the footstool belonging to the Chair of State.

draft. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to remind the reader that this clause always occurs in the Anglican Litany, and near the beginning. The meaning of the expressions used as to the Holyrood ceremony probably is that the ordinary Litany was gone entirely through, only perhaps omitting the final Benediction, and that, after the prayer of St. Chrysostom, the petition for the King, as above, was again repeated, the choir, of course, again answering, 'We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.'

After this, one of the Bishops who had just sung the Litany (doubtless Guthrie, as the consecrated one of the two), immediately offered the following prayer, which is a loose and inferior paraphrase of one found in the Coronation service of the Roman Pontifical, where, however, it is made to precede the Litany. It is also found in the Mediæval English rite, but in the latter case it is the last prayer offered before the anointing.

'O Almighty and Everlasting God, Creator of all things, Ruler of angels, King of kings and Lord of lords, Who madest thy servant Abraham to triumph over his enemies, didst give many victories to Moses and Joshua, the governors of the people; didst raise and exalt David Thy servant to be a King over them; didst enrich Solomon his son with the gift of wisdom and understanding, and blessedst him with peace and great prosperity,—give ear, we beseech Thee, unto our humble prayers, and multiply thy blessings upon this Thy servant who is now to be consecrated our King, that he, being strengthened with the faith of Abraham, endued with the mildness of Moses, and with the fortitude of Joshua, exalted with the humility of David, and beautified with the wisdom of Solomon, may please Thee in all things and ever walk uprightly in Thy ways. Defend him by Thy mighty arm; compass him with Thy protection; and give him to overcome all his and Thine enemies. Honour him before all the kings of the earth. Let him rule over countries, and let nations adore him.*

* To follow the barbarous digressions of these translations from the Latin originals would be a task out of the question here. But it may be remarked as an instance that the above extraordinary expression is an entirely gratuit-

Establish his throne with judgment and equity. Let justice flourish in his days: and grant that he, underpropped by the due obedience and hearty love of his people, may sit on the throne of his fore-fathers for many years, and, after this life, may reign with Thee in Thine everlasting kingdom. Through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.'

'Amen' was answered, and Archbishop Spotswood then said:—

'Lift up your hearts, and give thanks unto the Lord.'

The two Bishops who had sung the Litany replied:—

'We lift them up unto the Lord: and to give thanks unto him is meet and right.'

Spotswood continued—

'It is very meet and right, and our bounden duty, so to do, and at all times and in all places to give thanks to Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, the Strength of Thy chosen and the Exalter of the humble, Who, in the beginning, by sending the flood of waters, didst punish the sins of the world; and by a dove bringing an olive-branch in her mouth didst give a token of reconciliation to the earth; Who afterwards didst consecrate Thy servant Aaron a Priest, by the anointing of oil; as also, by the pouring out of the same, didst make Kings, Priests and Prophets, to govern Thy people Israel; and by the voice of Thy Prophet David didst foretell that the countenance of Thy Church should be made joyful with oil. We beseech Thee to bless and sanctify this Thy servant King Charles; that he may minister peace unto this people, that he may attain to the perfection of Government in Counsel and Judgment, and that his countenance may be always cheerful and amiable to all his people, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

'Amen' was answered, and the King then sat down for a short time. The last prayer is a poor and inaccurate translation of the fourth or anointing prayer in the Egbert Pontifi-

tous insertion. It seems to be founded upon the Vulgate rendering of Genesis xxvii. 29, 'Serviant tibi populi et adorent te tribus.' As a set-off, a beautiful passage based on Ephesians vi. 16, 17, is omitted.

cal, beginning 'Deus, Electorum Fortitudo.' It does not occur in the Roman Coronation service at all. It was used in France as the second prayer after the commencement of the Unction. In the Mediæval English Coronation service it occurs as here, with the opening form of the Preface of the Mass before it, and it is very singular that Laud should have put this opening into his Scotch Coronation service in the clumsy form here given, instead of adopting the comparatively accurate rendering of the Anglican Communion Service.

The ceremony of the anointing was then proceeded with. The two accounts, while very minute, still leave an uncertainty upon one or two details, but, speaking roundly, we know what was done. The King, after a pause which was probably occupied in getting everything ready, rose and went up to the Communion Table, where he seems to have gone behind the crimson taffety screen, which came close up to it. He there stood with his back close to the end of the Table, while the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Duke of Lennox, took off him his Princely robe, and unfastened the slits in his red silk coat. He then crossed the chancel and sat down in the Chair of State placed close to the pulpit, and the canopy was brought forward and held over his head until the Unction was completed. The choir now proceeded to sing the Anthem:—'Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon King, and all the people rejoiced and said, God save the King for ever.' It is hardly necessary to remark that this is the same Anthem which is now so well known as set to music by Handel. It is, however, of very great antiquity, forming part of the Coronation Service in the Pontifical of Egbert; nor does this seem to be its ultimate source, since it is found in the Breviary (which, although itself a comparatively modern compilation, embodies the Lectionaries, Antiphonaries, &c., of earlier times), on the evening before the Seventh Sunday after Pentecost, as one of the regular series of Anthems adapted to the yearly course of Scriptural reading. From this place it was probably borrowed as an existing piece of sacred music suitable for the occasion. In the English Mediæval rite it was joined with the beginning or the whole of Psalm xxi., 'The King shall joy,' as is indicated

by its being followed by the words, 'Ps. Domine in virtute tua lætabitur rex.' Neither the draft nor Sir James gives an hint of anything of the sort at Holyrood, except that several verses of this Psalm are found attached to another Anthem later on. It may be remarked that in France also it was sung without the Psalm, which was appropriated to the King's entry into the Cathedral.

While this Anthem was being sung, Spotswood, who must have been standing, anointed the King, who remained sitting all the time, upon the palms of both hands, *and then upon the crown of the head*, saying—'In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'—here both accounts insert within brackets () the words 'which words he repeats,' [Sir J. B., 'he did repeat,'] in all the several anointings—'Let these hands be anointed with oil, as Kings and Prophets were anointed: and, as Samuel did anoint David to be King, that thou mayest be blessed and established King in this kingdom, over the people whom the Lord thy God hath given thee to rule and govern: which may He vouchsafe to grant Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost is One, and reigns in glory everlasting. Amen.'

These words are a bad translation of a form found in the Mediæval English and French, but not in the early English or in the Roman rites. The words, 'and then upon the crown of the head,' are italicized above, because, although Sir James Balfour so states, it would appear that either the form must have been altered after the draft was drawn up, or else that Spotswood blundered at the time, or Sir James has made a mistake, since the draft form directs the head to be anointed last of all. The words also obviously apply to the hands, and the formula, 'God the Son of God,' etc., which will be given presently, to the head. The only possible way out of one of the above conclusions is that by writing here 'and one the crone of the head,' etc. (*sic*), Sir James may have meant that the Archbishop proceeded at a subsequent stage to anoint the head and other parts. If so, his use of language is singularly clumsy. Again, it does not appear clear whether Spotswood repeated the invocation of the Trinity thrice, that is, over both

hands and head, or twice, viz., once on the pair of hands and once on the head, or once only, viz., over both hands and head together. This point is tiresome and confused and will be discussed again.

It may be conjectured that the hands were immediately wiped with linen, cotton-wool, or floss-silk.

This first anointing completed, and the Anthem finished, the Archbishop offered the following prayer, an imperfect rendering of one which occurs in the same position in the Mediæval English rite, and in the French after the giving of the sword, but which is also found, as an addition *ad libitum*, after the Communion, in the Ritual used by the Popes at the Coronation of the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, if not in even earlier days.

‘Look down, Almighty God, upon this Thy servant our dread Sovereign, King Charles, with Thy favourable countenance, and, as Thou didst bless Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, so vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to water him plentifully with the Blessing of Thy Grace: give unto him of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn, wine, and oil, with all plenty of fruits and other good things. Grant him long to continue; and that in his time there may be health and peace in this kingdom. Grant, O Almighty God, that he may be a mighty Protector of this country, a bountiful Comforter of Churches and holy societies, the most valiant of Kings, terrible to rebels and infidels, amiable to his nobles and to all his faithful subjects. Make his Royal Court to shine in Princely dignity, as a most clear lightening, far and wide, in the eyes of all men. Finally, let him be blessed with happy children, that may reign as Kings after him and rule this kingdom by succession of all ages. And, after the glorious and happy days of present life, give him, of Thy mercy, an everlasting Kingdom with Thee in the heavens, through Jesus Christ our Lord.’

‘Amen,’ was answered, and the Archbishop then proceeded to anoint the King successively upon the breast, the back-bone between the shoulder-blades, the right shoulder, the left shoulder, the inside of the right elbow, and the inside of the left elbow. After this,

according to the draft form, he ought to have anointed him upon the head, but Sir James Balfour, in accordance with his former statement, affirms that the unction inside the left elbow was the last. The anointing thus ended, it may be gathered that the canopy was removed. The slits in the King's crimson silk coat were closed by the Lord Chamberlain—an alteration from the direction of the draft form, which assigns this duty to the Dean of the Chapel Royal. While this was done the Archbishop—who, according to the draft form, ought to have waited till it was over—read the following Benediction, a loose and abbreviated paraphrase of the form which accompanies the unction in the Roman rite, but follows it in the French and Mediæval English, while it is not found in the early English at all:—

‘God the Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, Who was anointed of His Father with the oil of gladness above His fellows, pour down upon thy head the blessing of the Holy Ghost, and make it enter into the inward parts of thy heart, as that thou mayest reign with Him in the heavens eternally.’

‘Amen’ was answered, and thus ended the Unction. This ceremony was of such a character as to call for some remarks, besides those already made, from the point of view of Comparative Liturgiology. The present writer has already offered some observations upon the absurdity and incongruity both of the traverse invention, and also of the ‘North-ending’ device as to the unction of the King; and therefore will only here recall them to the reader without recapitulating them.

The attitude of the King—*sitting*—during the anointing, and, it would seem, during the very prayer, ‘Look down,’ was no doubt not meant as a wilful irreverence, but to any one who has studied the theory and practice of the forms used through so many ages and in so many countries, at the unction of Christian Princes, it is not only an outrageous violation of all precedent, but a painful show of disrespect and wrong feeling. The whole portion of the service called by the French the *Sacre* or *Consecration* of the King, whether beginning with the *Veni Creator*, as in Mediæval England and at Holyrood, or with the prayer introductory to the Litany as in the Roman and French forms, and ending when the investiture with the Royal insignia begins, is

one whole, although sub-divided into parts. It is one continued supplication for an outpouring of the Spirit of God upon the whole State, and especially upon the new King, to enable him to discharge the duties of his office. Hence he remains upon his knees the whole time, and during the Litany, when the fervour of the appeals for mercy and blessing becomes most intense, lies upon his face,* to imitate the example of those Kingly elders who 'fall down before Him that sat on the throne, and worship Him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne' (Rev. iv. 10). As this strong crying and entreaty to the Monarch of the Universe draws to its close, the minister of religion, following the Scriptural precedent, accompanies it by the symbolical act of anointing the Christian now engaged in prayer for himself and the people over whom he is to rule, the more vividly to bring home both to him and to his subjects the need of that inward anointing of the heart with grace from on High for which they are pleading, and which, like all else asked in the name of the Redeemer, they may humbly hope, in reliance on the Gospel promise, to receive. Such was the anointing of the Mediæval Monarch. It is obvious that Charles and Laud misunderstood the whole meaning and spirit of the old forms which they were trying to copy. They seem to have regarded the anointing as a kind of act of homage, much of a piece with the enthronement, and so they made the King *sit*.

To the same wretched fatuity may beyond doubt be traced the holding of the canopy over the king during the ceremony. It must have proceeded from a reckless misapprehension. The fact was, that after the anointing upon the body came into use, the king was wholly or partially stripped for the purpose. Chalmagne, for instance, must have been stark naked during his unction at Rome in A.D. 800, as it is said of the Pope that 'ἐκ κεφαλῆς μέχρι ποδῶν ἑλάτω τούτον χρίει.' To be thus presented before the multitude was, not unnaturally, disagreeable to monarchs, and hence arose the custom of holding up a veil to cover them

* Where the *Veni Creator* formed a part, viz., in England, he was prostrate also during that solemn invocation.

from sight at the time. In the case of the English Richard II., who was stripped at least to his shirt (Walsingham says of the Archbishop of Canterbury '*vestimenta sua discindens manibus suis a summo usque ad imum, exiit cum præter camisiam vestimentis suis*' and again '*eo nudato, unxit*') the same canopy which had been carried over him in the procession was brought forward and held over him, as well as the veil; and the object of this is obvious, viz., to protect him from the idle curiosity of the people in the triforium. Such, although not particularly mentioned, may very likely have been the case on other occasions, as with Richard I., of whom Hoveden says '*denudaverunt eum totum, exceptis camisia et braccis*'; * *camisia dissuta erat in scapulis*.' The graceful and convenient invention of the silken tunic with prepared slits rendered all this unnecessary, and nothing of the sort was done in France, but in England the practice of holding up the veil during the Unction, although now meaningless, has continued to the present time. But the whole notion of the use of the canopy as a sign of dignity during the unction is so utterly repugnant to pre-Reformation feeling that the Kings of France, who attended four separate Coronation services in the Cathedral of Rheims, were covered by a canopy upon the first, second, and fourth days, but did not have it upon any part of the third day, either outside or inside the Church, because that was the day of the anointing, when their attitude was not so much that of rulers of men as of humble suppliants prostrate before the footstool of the Divine King of kings. Charles and Laud seem to have been both so ignorant and so careless, that it seems unlikely that they knew of the case of Richard II. But they did know that a veil was held up at English Coronations during the Unction, and, in absolute ignorance of the real origin of the custom, evidently took it for a kind of accessory of dignity to the Sovereign and thought they would simplify and improve upon it by having brought up the canopy under which he had already been walking.

As to the manner of performing the unction itself, it is difficult to arrive at a perfectly clear understanding. The first unction

* Drawers.

has been already discussed. The accounts of the second are as follows :—

Draft form.

‘The Prayer ended, the Archbishop proceeds in the Anointing. 1. His Breast. 2. Betwixt the Shoulders. 3. Both the points of the Shoulders. 5. (*sic*) Boughs of his Arms. 6. The Crown of His Majesties Head.’

Sir James Balfour.

‘The prayer endit, the Archbischope proceedit in the anoynting; first his breist, then betwixt his shoulders; 3. bothe the poyntes of his shoulders; and lastlie, the boughes of his armes.’

The Egbert Pontifical orders the unction to be poured once only and, that, from an horn and upon the head. It was afterwards extended to other parts of the body, with a special meaning, which is expressed by St Thomas à Becket in a letter to Henry II. ‘Kings’ he says ‘are anointed upon the head and also upon the breast and arms, the which signifieth glory, holiness, and strength.’ And these unctions assumed the number of seven, the holy and perfect number in Scripture, and with especial reference to the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (Is. xi. 2, 3, Vulgate), which are alluded to in the words of the *Veni Creator* ‘Tu septiformis munere.’ The eighth and ninth unctions, those, that is to say, made upon the two hands, were additional. In England, as at Holyrood, they were preparatory, and performed before the prayer ‘Look down’ which prefaces the seven essential anointings. In France they were supplementary, being given after the King had assumed the Royal robes. In both cases they were accompanied by the formula, ‘Let these hands be anointed, etc.’ but in neither was the Holy Trinity invoked upon them. The doing so has all the appearance of being a perfectly gratuitous invention of Laud’s. In England the invocation of the Trinity was not made at all. The sevenfold unction was administered in silence, the head being anointed last, as designed by Laud at Holyrood. In France, while the choir sang the anthem ‘Zadok the Priest,’ the Archbishop of Rheims made the applications of the ointment in the same order, except that he anointed the head first, saying each time, ‘I anoint thee King

with hallowed oil, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' and the Assistants each time replied 'Amen.' The peculiar manner in which the Trinity was named at Holyrood may have followed some Scottish Mediæval authority now to us unknown, or it may be Laud's peculiar invention—which may be predicated with certainty as to the invocation upon the hands. Whether he even designed a sevenfold anointing must remain uncertain. The oil was actually applied to nine places, and the numerals in the draft form are evidently given wrongly. Perhaps he had a vague idea that there should be seven applications, and, not recognizing the fact that the anointing of the hands was supplementary, tried to arrange it by casting the shoulders and elbows into pairs, and separating the hands so that the Trinity should be named seven times. It has however been well said that 'there is no use arguing with a fool,' and there is no use trying to explain the acts of a careless ignoramus by the light of Comparative Liturgiology. What he exactly meant to be done, and what he meant by it, or whether he meant anything at all, must apparently remain a mystery, and not one which it is a question of any very thrilling interest to solve.

Immediately after the Blessing 'God the Son of God' we learn that the Bishop of Dunblane, as Dean of the Chapel Royal, put upon the King's head, 'because of the anointing,' 'a shallow coif,' which must have been something like a white skull-cap. This act was mere silliness, but the derivation of it is not far to seek. In the Latin Church there are three kinds of hallowed oil, viz., the Oil of the Sick, used in Extreme Unction and in blessing bells; secondly, the Oil of the Catechumens, which is the usual anointing oil, and is applied to the candidates for Baptism and in the Ordination of Priests and the Unction of Kings; and lastly the *Sanctum Chrisma* or Holy Chrism, which is used to anoint the newly baptized, and in the consecration of Bishops, the administration of Confirmation, and some specially solemn rites, and is reckoned so exceptionally sacred, that objects consecrated with it, such as chalices, are actually forbidden to be touched by persons not in Holy Orders. Now, in the case of the Kings of England, after the ninefold anointing with the Oil of the Catechumens, a second cross was traced upon the same

spot upon the head, and the head only, where the oil had already been applied, with the Holy Chrism, and in consequence of the ecclesiastical distinction between the Oil and the Chrism, while the former was wiped off the rest of the body, a linen covering was bound upon the head and not removed for eight days, when it was taken off with great solemnity by a Bishop, who then washed the head. How Laud, who did not pretend to have anything but oil to anoint with, could have had the folly to imitate a ceremony the whole meaning of which is to draw a distinction between the oil and the Chrism, is indeed hard to understand.

When Charles' head had been thus covered, the second and more purely religious part of the Coronation Service was at an end. The ceremony now entered upon the third stage, termed by the French writers the *Couronnement* as opposed to the *Sacre*. This is that which consists in the investiture with the symbols of Royalty, and which centres around the Coronation strictly so called, that is to say, the placing of the Crown upon the King's head. It was begun by Charles going up to the Communion Table, where the Great Chamberlain clothed him in the Robe Royal which had been that of James IV. This robe is described by Spalding as being of purple velvet, richly furred and laced with gold; and it must have been of great length, since he says that when Charles, two days afterwards, insisted upon riding upon horseback in it, it stretched such a long way over and beyond the animal's tail that it had to be held up off the ground by a succession of five grooms, one behind the other. It is therefore evident that after assuming it, the King must have been attended at every movement by his train-bearers. While, or immediately after, it was put on, Spotswood offered the following prayer:—

'O God, the King of kings and Lord of lords, by whom kings do reign and lawgivers make good laws, vouchsafe in Thy favour to bless this Thy servant Charles in all his Government, that, living godly and leading his people by the way of righteousness, after a glorious course in this life, he may attain that joy which hath no end, through [? Christ] our Lord.'

'Amen' was answered. This prayer is adapted from the form used in England to bless the Royal insignia, but singularly enough, omits the petition to that effect.

The Gentleman Usher next brought the Sword to the Lyon King, who gave it to the Archbishop, who laid it on the Communion Table, and prayed as follows:—

‘Hear our prayers, we beseech Thee, O Lord, and vouchsafe by Thy right hand of Majesty to bless and sanctify this Sword wherewith Thy servant Charles desires* to be girt, that by the same he may defend Churches, widows, and orphans, and all the people of God, against the savage cruelty of pagans and infidels; and that it may be a terror and fear to all those that lie in wait to do mischief. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.’

‘Amen’ was answered, and Spotswood then took the Sword and placed it in the King’s hand, saying:—

‘Receive this Kingly Sword, for the defence of the Faith of Christ and protection of His Holy Church: and remember Him of Whom the Psalmist did prophecy, saying, Gird Thyself with Thy Sword upon Thy Thigh, O Thou Most Mighty: and with thy sword execute thou equity and justice, pursue all heretics and infidels, defend widows and orphans, restore the things that are gone to decay, maintain and confirm the things that are restored and in good order, destroy the growth of iniquity and take punishment of all injustice, that you may be glorious in the triumph of virtue, and reign, with Him Whose image you bear, for ever and ever.’

The ‘Amen’ was once more answered, and the Earl of Erroll, as Lord Great Constable, then girded the King with the sword. Charles thereupon returned to the chair near the North corner of the Communion Table, where he sat down, and had the spurs put on by the Earl Marischal. Sir James Balfour states that the sandals, that is, the ceremonial shoes—he makes no mention of the buskins, or ceremonial socks—were also then put on by the Bishop of Dunblane, Dean of the Chapel Royal. If so, the sandals must have been put on before the spurs, unless, as was often the case at Coronations, the spurs were taken off again as soon as they had been put on. After this, the Archbishop took the Crown in his hands, and, while holding it, offered the follow-

* Remark the slipshod language—‘desires,’ not ‘desireth.’

ing prayer, a loose and slipshod translation of the Benediction of the Crown in the English Mediæval Rite :—

‘O God, the Crown of all the faithful, Who dost crown their heads with precious stones that trust in Thee, bless and sanctify this crown, that, as the same is adorned with many precious stones, so this Thy servant, that wears the same, may be replenished of Thy grace with the manifold gifts of all precious virtues. Through Christ our Lord.’

‘Amen’ was answered, and Spotswood set the crown upon the King’s head, saying :—

‘God crown thee with a crown of glory and righteousness, with the honour and virtue of fortitude, that by a right faith and manifold fruits of good words, you may obtain the Crown of an everlasting Kingdom, by the gift of Him Whose Kingdom endureth for ever.’

‘Amen’ was answered once more. The form itself is that both of the English and French Rites, but it is remarkable that it is not followed as in them, by a Prayer beginning, ‘O God, Who alone makest to abide,’ which is at least as old as the time of Archbishop Egbert. According to the draft form, Charles ought now to have gone back to the Chair of State on the South side, but it would appear from Sir James Balfour that he remained where he was. The Lyon King, *i.e.*, Sir James himself, at the intimation of the Earl Marischal, and accompanied by Lord Erroll, as Great Constable, caused an herald to call up all the Peers down to the rank of Viscounts inclusive. According to a passage in the draft form these Peers ought to have put on their coronets and the Lyon King his crown as soon as the King was crowned, but Sir James states that they did not in fact do so till after the oath of the people had been administered. This was probably a downright blunder owing to the draft only inserting the direction—which is, however, very explicit—as a sort of after-thought, at that point. The former is the English custom. They knelt before the King three by three, holding up one hand (doubtless the right) and touching the crown upon his head with the other, while the Bishop of Dunblane* read the

* Sir James Balfour carefully explains that this duty was only under-

words, 'So mote God help me as I shall support thee,' which it is probably to be understood that they repeated after him. After this ceremony had been performed by all of them, they all again—standing, it is to be presumed, in a group before the King—held up their [right] hands and swore to be loyal and true subjects. What words were employed to this effect is not stated. It may be conjectured that they were the same as the oath now about to be administered to the people. It is singular that it is not stated that after performing their individual homage, they kissed the King's cheek, as was subsequently done by the Bishops and Barons. It seems hardly likely that they were excluded from this privilege. Such may, however, have been the case either on principle or by inadvertence, or again, on the other hand, the mention of the circumstance may have been accidentally omitted, first in the draft, and then in Sir James' account, which closely follows it.

The Earl Marischal next went to the four corners of the platform, and there read to the Lord Lyon from a form in his hand, what is styled the 'obligatory oath of the people.' The form was this :—

'We swear, and by the holding up of our hands do promise, all subjection and loyalty to King Charles, our dread Sovereign ; and as we wish God to be merciful unto us, shall be to His Majesty true and faithful, and be ever ready to bestow our lives, lands, and what else God hath given us, for the defence of his sacred Person and Crown.'

These words the Lyon King, at the dictation of the Earl Marischal, loudly repeated to the people, and those present held up their right hands and replied 'Amen.'

Sir James informs us that, as a matter of fact, it was after this, and not at the earlier point prescribed by the draft form, that he himself and the Peers down to the Viscounts inclusive, put on their coronets.

Immediately after the administration of the popular oath, as above, the Choir sang the following Anthem :—

taken by the Bishop of Dunblane, because he himself was occupied in calling up the Peers and therefore unable to perform it.

'Be strong and of good courage, and observe the commandments of the Lord, to walk in His ways, and keep His ceremonies, precepts, testimonies, and judgments. And Almighty God strengthen and prosper thee wheresoever thou goest.

'The Lord is my ruler, and therefore I shall want nothing.

'The King shall rejoice in Thy strength, O Lord : exceeding glad shall he be of Thy salvation.

'For Thou hast granted him his heart's desire, and hast not denied him the request of his lips.

'For Thou hast prevented him with blessings of goodness, and hast set a crown of pure gold upon his head.'

Laud might truly have said of this Anthem, like the legendary Parish Clerk, when inviting the congregation to 'sing to the praise and glory of God' a certain piece of sacred music, that it was 'a little thing of his own composition.' The fact was that in the English Mediæval Coronation Service, immediately after the putting on of the crown, and long before any homage, (which belongs to quite a different part of the ceremony), the Archbishop of Canterbury offered the prayer, 'O God, Who alone makest to abide,' and then the choir sang the Anthem, 'Be strong and show thyself a man,' etc., followed by the first verse, or more probably, the whole of Psalm xxiii., 'The Lord is my Shepherd,' and the repetition of the Anthem. Laud seems not to have understood the meaning of the technical Mediæval directions, but he got as far as the first verse of the Psalm, in which he partly imitated the Doway version in its singular representation of the bald and inaccurate Vulgate paraphrase, *Dominus regit me* : and having once struck the Psalm vein, it would appear to have occurred to him that it was an happy opportunity for working in the opening verses of Psalm xxi. 'The King shall joy' which he had been puzzled to find indicated in a former place along with the Anthem 'Zadok the Priest,' and had not then known what to do with.

On the conclusion of this Anthem, the Lord Chamberlain ungirt the sword, and placed it in the hands of the King, who gave it to Spotswood, who put it on the Communion Table. This was contrary to the draft form, which prescribes that the King himself should here go down from his

throne (which, it will be remembered, the draft already makes him to have occupied,) unloose the sword, and offer it in oblation by laying it upon the Altar. The draft form is certainly the more seemly and impressive, but we learn from Sir James that it was not observed. When, in any case, the sword had been laid upon the table, the Earl of Erroll as Great Constable, immediately redeemed it from the Church by a payment in cash, took it and drew it, and thenceforward carried it naked before the King.

The Archbishop next took the Sceptre and put it into the King's right hand, saying:—

'Receive the Sceptre, the sign of Royal Power, the rod of the kingdom, the rod of virtue,* that thou mayest govern thyself aright, defend the Holy Church and all the Christian people committed by God to thy charge, punishing the wicked and protecting the just.'

He then immediately offered this Prayer:—

'O Lord, the Fountain of all good things and the Author of all good proceedings, grant, we beseech Thee, to this Thy servant, that he may rightly use the Dignity which he hath by inheritance; vouchsafe to confirm the honour which Thou hast given him before all Kings, and enrich him with all benedictions; establish his throne; visit him with increase of children; let justice spring up in his days and his soul be filled with joy and gladness till he be translated to Thine everlasting Kingdom.'

'Amen' was answered, and then Spotswood said:—

'The Lord bless thee and keep thee—and, as He hath made thee King over His people, so He still may prosper thee in this world, and, in the world to come, make thee partake of His everlasting felicity.'

This is a funny blunder of the dog-translation sort. The quotation in the Latin original is from Ps. cx. 2. 'The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion—*Virgam virtutis tue emittet Dominus ex Sion.*' In the preceding clause also Laud has missed the fact that the words 'virgam scilicet regni rectam' are taken from Ps. xlv. 6. 'The Sceptre of thy kingdom is a right Sceptre.' But to multiply such instances would be endless. The Mediæval forms are a mass of Scriptural quotations, and Laud seems hardly ever to have recognised them.

Once more 'Amen' was answered.

The three above forms are all bad paraphrases of the forms in the English Mediæval rite. It is curious to note that in the Prayer Laud has rendered the simple 'adeptam' of the Latin by 'which he hath by inheritance,' in order to favour his own political principles. The Blessing is only the first part of a longer one which consists in the Mediæval original of three clauses and a doxology. Whether the translator omitted the rest because he was tired of his work or whether he found only the first clause in some MS. and did not know that there was any more, it is useless to speculate.

After this, Charles kissed Spotswood and all the other Bishops 'assistants' (by which is doubtless meant those in copes) all round. The choir then began the *Te Deum*, and while it was being sung, the King, 'attended by divers of the prime officers and nobility' ascended the platform. When the hymn was over, Spotswood inducted him into the throne with these words:—

'Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place whereof you are the righteous and lawful heir by a long and lineal succession of your forefathers, which is now delivered unto you by the authority of Almighty God, and, as you see the clergy come more near to the Altar than others, so, where it is convenient, you will remember to give them that honour and respect which is due to their places, that the Mediator of God and man may establish you in this Kingly throne, and that with Him you may live and reign for ever.'

This is a paraphrase of the corresponding address given in the Roman Pontifical, and in the Mediæval English and French Rites. The texts of it as given by the draft form and by Sir James Balfour as actually used, differ a good deal, but the principal divergence is that the draft, immediately after the name of Almighty God, inserts the words 'and by the hands of us, the Bishops and servants of God.' It must be remembered that the enthronization was in Scotland originally a lay office, hereditary in the Earldom of Fife, as representing the first of the Seven Earldoms of the Kingdom. Hence it may be questioned whether the form used was the same as the Roman, English and French, although the Earl might of course have spoken of the Bishops as

his fellow-Peers. Laud's rendering was, however, in any case, a false translation, as the original Latin words are '*—episcoporum caeterorumque Dei servorum*'—'of bishops and of the other servants of God,' indicating the rest of the population of the kingdom.

When the enthronement was thus finished, the Lord Chancellor, the newly created Earl of Kinnoull, went to the four corners of the platform, preceded by the Lord Lyon, and there proclaimed the Royal Pardon, with the offer of the same under the Great Seal, to all who required it. To this the assembly, in compliance with the direction sent down previously in the draft form, replied by calling out, 'God save the King!'

After this the Lord Lyon called on the Archbishops and Bishops, one by one, to perform their homage. Each knelt before the King in turn, holding their joined hands within his hands, while the Earl Marischal dictated to them the following form:—'I, ———, shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth bear unto you our Sovereign Lord, and your heirs, Kings of Scotland; and I shall do and truly acknowledge the service of the lands which I claim to hold of you in the right of the Church. So God help me.'

After this, each kissed the King on the left cheek.

Immediately after the homage of the Bishops the King gave the Sceptre to the Earl of Rothes to carry, which was a mistake, as the draft directs him not to do so till after the homage of the Temporal Barons, but perhaps he found it awkward to hold it while placing his hands outside those of the persons doing homage.

The Lord Lyon then called forward the Barons, who did homage in exactly the same manner as the Bishops, ending likewise by kissing the King's left cheek. The oath was read to them by the Bishop of Dunblane, Dean of the Chapel Royal, and was as follows:—

'I, ———, become your liegeman, and truth and faith shall bear unto you, live and die against all manner of folks whomsoever, in your service. So God me help.'

With the homage of the Barons terminated what may be called the third, or Coronation portion of the ceremony. It invites two observations. The first of these is upon the

investiture with the insignia of Royalty. It is here that the Holyrood form is most interesting, as offering a possible indication of what had been the forms in use in Mediæval Scotland, of which Laud most probably had better means of judging than we now possess, since the destruction of so many of the records of the Lyon Office and other national archives, under the domination of Cromwell. The form used is not the Roman form. To credit Laud and Charles with this, as has sometimes been done, is pure invention, and whether consciously or unconsciously, an absolute falsehood.* On the other hand, it is not the English form. The English form is far more lengthy and complicated: many more features are introduced, such, for instance, as the Coronation ring.† The Laudian form reads like a selection from the English service, and in its comparative shortness and simplicity throws some light upon the remark of Sadler, made concerning the Coronation of Queen Mary, to the effect that the special ceremonies used upon such occasions in Scotland 'were not very great.'

The second observation applies to an innovation introduced into the sequence of the ceremonies as given in the English Ritual—namely, the causing the Peers down to Viscounts to perform their homage after the crowning, and before the Anthem 'Be Strong,' the tradition of the Sceptre, and the enthronement. Surely it can hardly be but that this was a blunder, although it is not now easy to trace its origin. It mars and as it were dislocates the whole sequence of the ceremonies, and there is an obvious absurdity in causing the homage to be performed, first, by the higher Peers, secondly, by the people in general, and thirdly by the Archbishops, Bishops and Barons, since the

* It may, however, be said to be capped by the amazing statement of Collier (quoted by Maskell, II., xli.) that the Coronation of Mary Tudor 'was performed according to ancient custom and directed by the Roman Pontifical.' As the English Pre-Reformation form and that in the Roman Pontifical have hardly anything in common, a sentence more self-contradictory can scarcely be conceived.

† There is a ring in Edinburgh Castle, bequeathed by the Cardinal Duke of York to George IV., which passes as the Scottish Coronation ring of Charles I. The preceding pages show that this is a mistake.

natural order would be, first, the Archbishops and higher Peers, then the Bishops and Barons, and, thirdly, the people. In the cases both of France and England the homage was performed only after the enthronization, when the form 'Stand and hold fast' was finished. In France it was limited to the Twelve Peers. The Archbishop of Rheims after reciting an additional and closing prayer that the Almighty would be pleased to strengthen the monarch on his throne, took off his mitre, made a deep bow to the King, kissed him, and said thrice 'May the King live for ever.' The same was next done by the other five Ecclesiastical Peers, and then by the six Lay. In England, it does not appear clear that during Mediæval times the Archbishops and Bishops performed an homage upon this occasion at all. The kiss to which they were admitted by the King before the *Te Deum* may have been allowed to take its place. On the other hand, they may be included in the general terms '*pares*' and '*proceres*.' In later times, at any rate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, after the enthronement with the words 'Stand and hold fast, etc.' has been accustomed to kneel and recite the form of homage, as was done at Holyrood. The other Bishops do the same, either along with or after him, in succession; and all kiss the King's left cheek. The Lay Peers then do the same, from the Dukes of the Blood Royal down to the Barons, all inclusive. While doing so, they remove their coronets, and, after the ceremony, again uncover, approach the throne, and touch the crown upon the King's head. It is after this, which practically concludes the Coronation Service proper, that it is usual for the trumpets to sound, and for the people to shout 'God save the King.' Both the English and the French arrangements are reasonable, while that adopted at Holyrood is very awkward.

With the conclusion of the homage, ended, as has been remarked, the third stage of the Coronation service, or that of the Coronation properly so called. The fourth, closing, or Eucharistic portion, now commenced. In the Roman rite and in that of Egbert of York, which is, as has been observed, the earliest Coronation Ritual which seems to be now extant, the inauguration of the King is mixed up with the Celebration, as is the Ordination of a Priest or the Consecration of a Bishop, and

the same is again the modern practice in England. But in Mediæval England and in France down to the very last occasion in 1825, the Mass is separate from and follows the Coronation service. And this was the rule followed by Laud at Holyrood.

After the homage, Charles descended from his throne, and, preceded by the Earl of Rothes carrying the Sceptre, went to his Chair of State, 'over against the pulpit' by which is probably meant that upon the South side. Spotswood immediately went to the Communion Table, and proceeded to celebrate the Communion in accordance with the English form. We know nothing more upon the subject, except that the King communicated with great reverence. It is probable enough, however, that this Celebration was conformed to the English usage upon such occasions, by omitting all other Collects except that for the King, and taking the Epistle and Gospel respectively from 1 Pet., ii., 13-17 and Matth., xxii., 15-22. It is possible, on the other hand, since nothing is said about it, that the Roman and French custom of using the service of the day may have been followed. In this also we may again have a trace of a point in which the national usages of Mediæval Scotland differed from those of England and coincided with those of France. It may at least be held as certain, from the silence of the accounts, that the English custom of the King presenting the bread and wine, as well as a sum of gold, at the offertory, and having two special prayers then read over him, was not observed. Charles probably contented himself with putting a piece or pieces of gold into the plate.

At the conclusion of the celebration, the King, wearing his Crown and Royal Robe, and carrying the Sceptre in his hand, went out in procession, in the same order as that in which he had entered. He did not however return to the Castle, but passed on foot into the Palace of Holyrood. As soon as he began to move forward from the platform the Bishop of Moray, as Lord High Almoner for the time, scattered gold and silver Coronation pieces among the people. Meanwhile, the trumpets sounded and small arms were discharged, answered by salvos of artillery from the Castle.

We know from Sir James Balfour that it was about 8 A.M.

when the ceremony was begun by the King entering the Presence-Chamber in the Castle. Spalding informs us that it was about 2 P.M. when the crown was set upon his head. If the latter is correct, and taking into consideration how much was then still to follow, it would appear that the ceremony can hardly have occupied less than the amazing period of eight hours.

The draft form mentions that it was the intention of the King to give a Coronation Banquet, but there is no record as to whether he did so or not.

The Coronation pieces above mentioned are rather larger than our present half-pennies. They bear on the obverse a pleasing portrait of the King crowned, and wearing the collar of the Thistle, surrounded by the inscription 'Carolus. D. G. Scotiæ. Angliæ. Fr. et. Hib. Rex.' The reverse bears the legend, 'Hinc nostræ crevere rosæ,' surrounding the representation of a growing thistle-plant, underneath which is the inscription 'Coron. 18. Junii. 1633.' There are a few others of a similar but better design, of which some were struck in silver and three in Scottish gold. It is mentioned that Charles afterwards had the habit of keeping one of these latter in his pocket.*

The writer has now completed a description of and criticism upon the form used at the Coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood. The ceremony was undoubtedly an interesting one, partly for its own sake, partly because it may very probably have been the means of preserving to us some features of earlier Scottish Coronations of which the records are now lost. But in itself it seems impossible to bestow upon it that mede of praise as a Liturgical compilation with which some writers have referred to it. Laud might have done one of two things. He might, as the Covenanters did at Scone, have taken such of the old forms as seemed best and constructed around them as good and appropriate a form of his own as he could. On the other hand, he might have adhered to the old forms themselves and presented them in a careful but spirited translation, with a thoughtful and intelligent performance of the symbolic ceremonial. He did neither. The forms of Mediæ-

* Mr. Cochran-Patrick's *Catalogue of the Medals of Scotland*, pp. 18, 19.

valism were partially evoked from the past to be exhibited with a careless massacre of the allegorical and historical rites, and their words disguised under so-called translations in which it may be questioned whether the reader is most called upon to marvel at the reckless inaccuracy of the rendering or at the almost phenomenal incapacity to recognise even the most hackneyed quotations from Scripture.

Note.—There is a story which dogs this Coronation like its shadow through writer after writer, to the effect that Laud, at some unspecified point, rudely and violently thrust aside the Archbishop of Glasgow, to whom the place on the King's left had been assigned, as that to Spotswood upon the right, because he was not properly vested. There is a sensible note upon it in Grub's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, ii. 345. The present writer respectfully expresses his agreement with that note. It is plain from the extant accounts that the story of the two Archbishops having places assigned them on the King's right and left is a pure fiction, and moreover that the distinction as to vestments was the same as in France, viz., between those who did and those who did not actually take part in the service. It is therefore needless to point out that the story in question is, as told, impossible. It is probable enough that Laud may have given Lindsay a nudge at some particular moment, and that the latter may have thought him fussy or even officious. But the incident so commonly narrated is so evidently an ill-natured invention that the present writer would not have referred to it had it not been for the extraordinary popularity which for some reason it has enjoyed.

ART. IV.—ALCOHOL AND ALCOHOLISM.

[The following Article appeared in the *Revue Scientifique*, and is here, together with the Editor's notes, reproduced with the permission of M. E. Fournier de Flaix and M. Henry Ferrari, the Director of the *Revue Scientifique*. M. Fournier de Flaix has also had the courtesy to communicate to the Editor the footnote showing the consumption of spirits and beer in the three parts of the United Kingdom on page 331. The translation has been executed by E. H. Lawrence Oliphant, M.D.]

EVEN as regards taxes, public opinion has its whims in making a favourite or a scapegoat. Salt, so long a scapegoat, has now almost become a favourite; while alcohol, the

favourite of nearly two centuries, is threatened with the doom of a scapegoat, a doom moreover to be reached by two opposite paths.

Some people would have us believe that alcohol, so famous for six centuries as the outcome of Arabian civilisation, is none other than the most dangerous antagonist of the human species, a kind of Satanic liquor, an elixir or a poison worthy of Mephistopheles or of Medea, and able to ruin all our brilliant civilisation. 'Every one in every country, moralist and statesman, physician, economist and preacher, is seeking that remedy which must be found to prevent the half of Europe from undergoing the fate of the Oceanic races, which have been destroyed by the fire water of Europe.' Such with respect to alcohol is the pessimistic view of a very distinguished thinker, M. Alglave, professor of *science financière* in the Paris Faculty of Law.

Nevertheless according to others, and according to M. Alglave himself, alcohol is at the same time a spring of gold that can never run dry, and is able in France to yield £60,000,000 sterling annually, to which we must add at least eighty millions as its contribution to the Budgets of other States.

Is it not then natural that it should have occurred to philanthropists and financiers to seize this Proteus, at once calamitous and beneficent, and to imprison it in a State monopoly so securely as to shield the human race from the ills with which it might assail us, and to drain it of that gold with which it is saturated?

It must however be recognised that there is a contradiction, and an anomaly* in the fact that so real and terrible a scourge should yet be able to yield annually some hundred and fifty millions to different States.

I purpose in the first place to study this anomaly closely and to elicit its causation. How can alcohol be a cause at once of calamity and of wealth to the human race? Does not wealth consist in those objects which are concerned in the gratification of man's requirements? Must it be confessed that man is so far deceived in the character and legitimacy of these requirements

* 'The same anomaly exists in regard to opium, whose noxious effect is undoubted.'—Editor of *Revue Scientifique*.

as to consent to pay yearly a hundred and fifty millions to gratify tastes which must ruin his race? And if we grant this, how are we to explain the fact that it is precisely those races which are most vigorous, most prolific, and those nations which are most enlightened and are wealthiest which consume most alcohol? Is it then true that this new scourge threatens most directly that part of the human race which has most energy and power, that which shows most vitality in planting colonies and scattering emigrants on all sides?

I. ON ALCOHOLISM.

Must we confuse alcohol with alcoholism? Must we confuse the use with the abuse of so delicate and so complex a food stuff? Must we anathematise alcohol, must we foresee the extinction of the human species, because every year 5000 people succumb to alcoholic excesses, including the 15 per cent. of suicides attributed to alcohol? In New York, the abuse of alcohol is credited with 12 per 1000 of the deaths, phthisis with 142 per 1000. Tuberculosis, diabetes, croup, measles, small-pox—are not these also enemies still more terrible? Yet of these, too, humanity gets the better, thanks to scientists, to physicians, and thanks even to alcohol?

During the last few years the subject of alcoholism has been considered by learned societies, by congresses, in numerous works by scientists, physicians, sanitarians and political writers of note, especially by the late Dr. Lunier; M. Yvernès, *directeur* in the ministry of Justice; M. Berthelot; Dr. Kummer, head of the statistical office of Berne. The *Société des Economistes* of Paris devoted its sitting of the 5th January, 1885, to this subject, when the opinions were heard of MM. Léon Say, Frédéric Passy, Yves Guyot, Alglave, Lunier, Raffallowich, G. Villain and Ameline de la Brislaisne. The figures and documents furnished during the debate by MM. Lunier, Kummer and Goernès, can, on account of the special studies of these gentlemen, best give us a criterion of what is meant by the scourge of alcoholism.

M. Lunier divided France into nine districts, according to the quantity of wine consumed in each of them. From 1840 to

1873, the mean consumption of wine per head has increased from 70 to 119 litres.* This consumption varies from 15 litres in the North-west, to 215 at Bordeaux and 220 at Lyons.

The consumption of cider is stationary. The tendency is for wine to usurp the place of cider.

As for beer, its consumption tends to develop slowly. It is only in Paris where it reaches 14 litres per head, and in the Departments of the Nord, Pas-de-Calais, and Ardennes, that this consumption is of any account.

The consumption of spirits has increased progressively, as is shewn below.

In these totals, the amount of alcohol contained in liqueurs is included. The increase has been about 150%. It is the same for imported spirits (180,050 hectolitres).

YEARS.	Production. Hectolitres.	Consumption. Hectolitres.	Duty.	Population.	Per Head. Litres.
1840-1849, average,	819,162	570,735	37	35,000,000	1·60
1850-1859, -	856,156	707,718	55	37,000,000	1·89
1860-1869, -	1,222,635	903,959	90	38,000,000	2·36
1870-1879, -	1,526,106	986,765	156	37,000,000	2·66
1880, -	1,821,285	1,313,000	—	38,000,000	3·44
1884, -	2,011,046	1,488,083	—	38,000,000	3·90

Thus in 35 years the consumption has not been tripled although the consumption of wine has sensibly decreased. It is in fact from the beginning of the period when the production of wine was most deficient (1880) that the consumption of spirits has most increased.

The consumption of wine has specially decreased among the producing proprietors in the rural districts. This is worthy of consideration.

We now pass to consider the distribution of this consumption. For this purpose, the official reports give us two criteria, namely the quantities consumed in the chief centres of urban population, and the excise returns for ardent spirits in each Department.

* 1 Litre=1·76 Pint=·22 Gallon. 1 Gallon=4½ Litres. 1 Hectolitre=100 Litres=22·01 Gallon.

TABLE I.—CONSUMPTION IN FRENCH TOWNS.

TOWNS.	WINES.	SPIRITS.	BEER.	CIDER.	Per Head.			
					Wine.	Spirits.	Beer.	Cider.
	Hecto- litres.	Hecto- litres.	Hecto- litres.	Hecto- litres.	Hecto- litres.	Litres.	Hectolitres.	
North—								
Paris, . . .	4,779,748	148,036	290,051	308,482	2·07	6·7	·13	·14
Lille, . . .	42,840	10,151	432,811	950	·31	7·3	3·12	—
Nantes, . .	173,841	6,136	4,069	31,030	1·61	5·7	·04	·29
Havre, . . .	44,081	15,787	25,130	106,656	·43	15·3	·24	1·64
Rouen, . . .	51,988	16,638	15,051	161,741	·53	16·6	·15	1·64
Rheims, . .	115,359	7,474	32,788	5,403	1·31	8·5	·37	·06
Roubaix, . .	11,989	5,507	165,495	331	·14	6·6	1·98	—
Nancy, . .	121,340	3,209	31,307	301	1·83	4·8	·47	—
South—								
Lyons, . . .	696,841	16,890	25,887	445	2·15	5·2	·09	—
Marseilles, .	492,915	17,348	25,090	125	1·93	6·8	·10	—
Bordeaux, .	463,918	9,937	17,417	1,187	2·23	4·8	·09	—
Toulouse, . .	264,841	2,779	13,301	37	2·29	2·4	·11	—
Saint-Etienne,	225,993	5,177	7,001	215	2·02	5·7	·04	—

An examination of Table I. must lead to the following striking conclusions:—

1. The consumption of spirits is in inverse ratio to that of wine.

2. The consumption, except as regards wine, is greater in the Northern than in the Southern towns.

3. The consumption of ardent spirits in Paris is below the general average of 8·8 litres per head.

I pass now to the consumption in the Departments.

TABLE II.—CONSUMPTION IN DEPARTMENTS.

DEPARTMENTS.	Average per head.				Duty Collected. Francs.
	Wine. Hectolitres.	Spirits. Litres.	Beer. Hectolitres.	Cider. Hectolitres.	
North—					
Seine,	2·08	6·6	·03	·16	81,267,223
Seine-Inférieure, .	·24	13·4	·05	·66	21,653,160
Seine-et-Oise, . .	1·22	6·7	·05	·22	11,135,662
Nord,	·10	4·6	2·48	·01	23,899,872
Oise,	·44	8·1	·11	·34	6,651,633
Pas-de-Calais, . .	·09	7·7	1·61	·02	14,211,766
Somme,	·14	9·8	·52	·10	10,155,218
Aisne,	·43	8·5	·78	·28	10,150,238
Ardennea,	·28	5·5	1·72	·15	4,822,784

Calvados, . . .	10	8.7	.01	1.22	7,892,920
Côtes-du-Nord, . .	06	3.4	.01	1.05	5,169,326
Finistère, . . .	18	5.7	.04	.20	2,738,038
Eure, . . .	17	8.4	.04	.50	8,055,074
Ille-et-Vilaine, . .	10	4.5	.05	1.86	7,791,401
Manche, . . .	06	6.6	.01	1.20	7,060,025
South—					
Rhône, . . .	1.54	3.7	.1	—	11,472,858
Bouches-du-Rhône, .	1.44	4.1	.8	—	7,994,178
Gironde, . . .	1.78	3.1	.3	—	8,511,443
Haute-Garonne, . .	1.05	4.6	.6	—	3,064,306
Hérault, . . .	1.77	2.1	.5	—	3,535,892
Charente-Inférieure, .	.63	1.5	.3	—	2,262,672
Charente, . . .	.60	1.4	.7	—	1,896,734
Vaucluse, . . .	.48	2.1	.6	—	2,180,870
Lot-et-Garonne, . .	.64	1.4	.1	—	1,480,927
Gard, . . .	1.50	1.9	.05	—	3,064,316
Drôme, . . .	.50	2.3	.01	—	1,819,874
Pyrénées-Orientales, .	.74	3.0	.02	—	1,162,931

This second table is more conclusive than the first. It not only confirms but emphasises its evidence. The mean consumption of ardent spirits in France is 3.9 litres; that of wine, .77 hectolitres; that of beer, .23 hectolitres, and of cider, .19 hectolitres. Only one Department in the South exceeds this mean consumption of spirits, and only one in the North does not exceed it. The contrast is complete. The same may be said of the comparative Excise returns for the North and for the South. The inequality which they show is obvious.

Having established this point, we pass to consider the comparative influence of the consumption of spirits in the two divisions, under the headings of births, deaths, crime and wealth.

TABLE III.

Departments, 1881.	Popula- tion.	Births.		Deaths.		Crime. Prosecution.	Financial Receipts, 1880.	Consumption of Spirits.	
		Town.	Country.	Town.	Country.			Francs.	Litres.	Suicides.
NORTH.									
Seine, - -	2,799,329	73,356	1,104	70,405	920	25,067	868,729,923	6.6	1250
Seine-Inférieure, -	814,068	10,193	13,378	10,440	11,330	6,057	148,929,959	13.4	251
Seine-et-Oise, -	577,798	5,058	7,973	6,006	8,113	4,273	64,707,003	6.7	233
Nord, - -	1,603,250	37,154	13,576	25,209	9,624	8,631	143,737,849	4.6	248

Oise, - - -	404,555	1,975	8,913	2,196	6,444	2,207	35,805,450	8.1	182
Pas-de-Calais, -	819,022	10,449	13,950	8,513	10,629	3,929	66,583,647	7.7	54
Somme, - - -	550,857	3,790	9,193	3,433	8,871	2,677	43,796,403	9.8	172
Aisne, - - -	556,891	3,799	9,173	3,549	8,187	3,497	43,919,815	8.5	201
Ardenne, - - -	333,675	2,308	5,301	1,774	4,665	1,817	23,950,902	5.5	77
Calvados, - - -	439,830	2,527	6,633	3,144	6,744	6,102	45,976,567	8.7	90
Cotes du Nord, -	627,585	1,450	16,843	1,528	11,800	1,471	23,562,121	3.4	66
Finistère, - - -	631,564	4,250	19,305	5,138	16,766	2,500	30,485,419	5.7	71
Euse, - - -	364,291	2,451	5,328	3,005	6,312	2,391	38,788,036	8.4	103
Ille et Vilaine, -	615,480	3,753	13,237	4,135	9,513	2,165	34,825,677	4.5	53
Manche, - - -	626,377	2,202	9,409	2,864	9,001	1,559	34,033,500	6.6	58
Total, -	11,814,572	316,031		280,258		74,343	Fr. 1,647,832,080 = £65,913,291		3100
SOUTH.									
Rhône, - - -	741,470	12,842	4,162	12,883	4,108	4,138	78,649,432	3.7	111
Bouches-du-Rhone, -	589,028	13,558	2,447	13,182	2,068	1,656	115,748,472	4.1	167
Gironde, - - -	748,703	6,819	8,985	6,021	9,332	4,450	106,669,562	3.1	97
Haute-Garonne, -	478,009	3,842	5,768	5,139	5,357	1,957	29,859,015	4.6	48
Hérault, - - -	441,627	6,387	3,888	6,808	4,080	2,993	43,030,071	2.1	53
Charente-Inferieure, -	370,822	2,270	7,808	1,259	6,411	1,280	28,216,738	1.5	86
Charente, - - -	256,190	1,453	6,371	822	5,958	931	19,210,456	1.4	56
Vaucluse, - - -	241,149	3,085	2,536	3,529	2,581	915	13,124,769	2.1	50
Lot-et-Garonne, -	312,081	1,782	3,637	2,285	4,454	877	18,114,619	1.4	26
Gard, - - -	415,629	5,597	5,445	5,158	4,696	1,578	25,038,998	1.9	52
Drôme, - - -	313,763	2,451	4,787	3,005	5,222	1,371	15,652,040	2.3	72
Pyrénées-Orientales, -	208,835	2,534	3,980	2,317	3,185	1,101	12,009,072	3	17
Total South, -	5,117,306	122,434		119,859		23,247	505,323,244 = £20,212,928		833

TABLE III. A.

	Births per 1000.	Deaths per 1000.	1 Crime in every	1 Suicide in every	Litres. per Head.	Financial Receipts per Head.
North, -	26.75	23.72	159	3800	7	£5.58
South, -	23.93	23.42	220	6128	2.8	£3.95

TABLE III. B.

Departments.	Litres per Head.	1 Suicide in every
Seine-Inferieure, -	13.4	3243
Seine-et-Oise, -	6.7	2480
Nord, -	4.6	6465
Pas-de-Calais, -	7.7	15167

This third table is no less significant than the preceding ones.
It shows:—

1. That the proportion of alcohol consumed depends chiefly on the climate.

2. That wealth has only a secondary influence on the consumption.

3. That the births are fewer and the mortality * is greater, in the Departments where the consumption of spirits is low.

4. That crime is not proportionate to the consumption of spirits.

5. That suicide is not proportionate to the consumption of spirits. For example, the Seine-Inférieure consumes three times as much spirits as the Nord, while its suicide is twice as frequent. On the other hand the Pas-de-Calais consumes twice as much spirits as the Nord, and its suicide is two-and-a-half times less. Seine-et-Oise consumes half as much spirits as the Seine-Inférieure and its suicide is almost double.

It is no less interesting, under the several heads we have already taken, to compare the different civilised nations. Documentary evidence is less abundant and less exact, yet I shall endeavour to establish comparative statistics analogous to those tables which I have drawn up for France. [See Table IV. and Note, pages 230-1.]

The evidence of Table IV. is even more conclusive than from the different areas of France:

1. France and Great-Britain show an almost equal consumption of spirits, and yet show considerable differences in their birth and death rates, and in their crime. France consumes less spirits, and yet shows a lower birth rate, a higher death rate, and more crime and suicide.

2. Italy consumes but little spirits; her crime is frightful. Sweden, Norway and Denmark consume almost four times as much, with a third of the population, which makes a difference of 1200 per 100, and yet their crime, considering the total populations, is as 40 to 2470.†

* Table III. A. shows that the death-rate is not greater.—TRANSLATOR.

† There seems to be some mistake in the figures of this calculation. If his table is correct, M. F. de Flaix seems, in 'considering the total populations,' to have divided the Scandinavian crime by 3, instead of multiplying by $3\frac{1}{2}$. This would give us 420 to 2470, which is the ratio of the figures given in Table IV. He also omits to notice that the suicides of Denmark and Italy are as 250 : 34.—TRANSLATOR.

TABLE IV.

[In the original table the totals only were given. For converting the figures in the different columns to common denominators, the translator is indebted to Mr. W. G. O. Lindsay, as also for summarising the results of Table III.]

Country.	Population.	Births.	Deaths per population.	Deaths.	Deaths per thousand of population.	Murders.	Murders per million of population.	Suicides.	Suicides per million of population.	Fiscal Revenue in Millions Stg.	Fiscal Re- venue per head of population.	Commercial movement. Millions Stg.	Per head of population.	Gallons of Alcohol consumed.	Gallons per head of population.
Russia, . .	86,540,000	3,416,000	39.47	2,760,000	31.89	2,400	27.73	1,960	22.65	£72	£0.83	£114	£1.32	145,000,000	1.68
U.S. America,	50,410,000	2,150,000	42.65	1,756,893	34.85	2,060	40.87	—	—	120	2.38	288	5.71	76,310,000	1.51
Germany, . .	45,260,000	1,765,500	39.01	1,244,600	27.50	995	21.98	5,878	129.87	140	3.09	330	7.29	60,000,000	1.33
Austria, . .	37,830,000	1,530,615	40.46	1,273,016	33.65	590	15.60	3,292	87.02	79	2.09	140½	3.72	34,000,000	0.90
France, . .	37,430,000	937,900	25.06	841,100	22.47	662	17.69	7,572	202.30	160	4.27	378	10.10	34,605,000	0.92
Great Britain,*	34,650,000	1,130,500	32.63	695,900	20.08	468	13.51	1,844	53.22	116	3.35	686	19.80	37,902,000	1.09
Italy, . .	28,910,000	1,071,450	37.06	704,196	27.47	2,470	85.44	995	34.42	62½	2.16	99	3.42	10,100,000	0.35
Spain, . .	16,290,000	493,817	30.31	435,477	26.73	1,600	98.22	—	—	35½	2.16	{ 74 }		3,000,000	0.18
Portugal, . .	4,350,000	153,507	35.29	106,673	24.52	—	—	—	—	7	1.61	{ }		1,000,000	0.23
Belgium, . .	5,480,000	176,300	32.17	114,300	20.86	90	16.42	388	70.80	13	2.39	116	21.2	10,000,000	1.82
Holland, . .	4,060,000	144,100	35.49	91,656	22.58	—	—	—	—	10	2.48	144	35.47	12,000,000	2.96
Sweden, . .	4,610,000	134,300	29.13	79,406	17.23	—	—	485	105.21	{ }		{ }		27,000,000	5.86
Denmark, . .	1,960,000	65,570	33.45	39,164	19.98	120	14.08	490	250.00	9½	1.13	{ 58 }		8,000,000	4.08
Norway, . .	1,950,000	59,375	30.45	35,321	18.11	—	—	—	—	{ }		{ }		—	—
Switzerland, . .	2,810,000	86,974	30.95	58,633	20.87	—	—	544	193.59	1½	0.64	22	7.83	—	—

* Note by M. F. de FLAIX.—The results of this comparison are still more striking if the consumption in the British Isles is subdivided.

3. Spain consumes three times less spirits than Italy; her crime is twice as great.

4. Russia consumes four times as much spirits as France;* yet her birth-rate is nearly double.

5. Austria and France have the same population, and almost the same consumption of spirits. There is a difference of 50% in both birth and death rates, and of 100% in the number of suicides.

6. Germany, with a consumption of spirits two-thirds greater, has one-third fewer suicides, and her excess of births over deaths is five times as great.

All hypotheses are thus overturned. For after all, those nations which have the strongest vitality, and those which are most wealthy and moral, consume the largest quantity of spirits. The prediction that alcoholism is to destroy the human species along with civilisation falls to the ground. The vitality of France is no doubt passing a crisis, and she might be adduced as an example if she appeared on the list of those nations which consume much spirits; but she shows only a moderate consumption. Further, it has been shown above that the most vigorous parts of France are exactly those which consume most spirits.

Mr. Mulhall has drawn up a table of the quantities of all the alcoholic beverages consumed by the chief nations. I now give this table, as a check upon those already given :

TABLE IV. A.

Country.	Population.	Gallons Consumed of		Consumption per head of	Fiscal Revenue.	Fiscal Revenue	
		Spirits.	Beer.		Spirits.	Beer.	per head.
England, .	27,132,300	16,317,190	24,315,190	·6 ·9	£11,800,000	£7,500,000	·43 ·28
Scotland, .	3,866,500	6,612,177	1,001,851	1·71 ·26	3,770,000	3,030,000	·98 ·78
Ireland, .	4,952,900	5,065,300	2,179,253	1·29 ·44	2,920,000	630,000	·59 ·13

Scotland consumes more spirits than England? Is she less civilized? Is she less civilized than Ireland?

[England consumes just half the quantity of spirits that Ireland does. Does M. F. de Flaix maintain that Ireland is more civilized?—TRANSLATOR.]

* Not quite twice as much per head.—TRANSLATOR.

TABLE V.

STATES.	In 1,000,000 Gallons.			Equivalent of Alcohol.	Gallons of Alcohol per Head.	Consumption of Spirits. Litres per Head.
	Wine.	Beer.	Spirits.			
Great-Britain, -	15	1007	37	67·2	1·92	5
France, -	760	190	34	101·	2·65	4
Germany, -	120	880	60	72·4	1·60	6
Russia, -	30	63	145	80·6	1·05	7
Austria, -	300	245	30	53	1·45	3
Italy, -	480	20	10	50·2	1·76	1
Spain, -	220	2	3	24	1·48	
Portugal, -	60	1	1	7	1·55	
Holland, -	3	35	12	8·2	2·05	
Belgium, -	4	170	10	11·4	2·07	
Denmark, -	1	25	8	5·1	2·60	17
Sweden & Norway, -	2	35	27	15·4	2·27	17
Europe, -	1995	2673	377	495·5	1·65	
U.S. America, -	30	440	76	66·5	1·31	6

Alcohol is therefore not a scourge threatening the European races with the fate of the Oceanic races since the nations which consume most alcohol, even ardent spirits and *alcool industriel** are the superior nations, those with less crime and stronger vitality.

I find a last proof of this in the power of emigration displayed by the nations with high alcoholic consumption. So far are they from dying out that they are obliged to scatter. Russia is covering all the North of Asia with her colonies. The following table shews the emigration of the spirit-drinking nations from 1872 to 1881.

TABLE VI.

States.	Number of Emigrants.	Per 100 of Population.	Average of Spirits per head in litres.
Germany, -	2,411,000	5·5	6
Great Britain, -	1,729,000	5·2	5
Switzerland, -	121,000	4·4	—
Norway, -	81,000	4·2	17
Sweden, -	123,000	2·7	17
Denmark, -	38,000	2	17
France, -	71,000	·2	4

* This term is explained later.—TRANSLATOR.

The contradiction is thus explained. The land is relieved. It is possible to explain the misunderstanding hidden under the formula of alcoholism, to discover the true nature and function of alcohol and to understand the true law of its consumption*

1. Alcohol is a new food stuff, whose consumption depends directly on the exigency of the climate. Climate is the law of alcohol.

2. Alcoholism is the abuse, the bad use of a food which is necessary, but is hard to control.

II. ON ALCOHOL.

It will take a long time to make people recognise the character of alcohol and its function as a food. How many centuries already has it taken to make them accept wine.

The alimentary power of not only wine, but of coffee, sugar, chocolate, and tea, is denied by some who would have us return to the times when apothecaries sold tea, sugar, and alcohol. All these came to us from the booths of alchemists and apothecaries, but their sale now can never be restricted to such places. There is now no household, be it never so poor, but has its sugar and its coffee. This advance is enormous. Fifty years ago coffee was served as a luxury on gala days, and sugar was kept as an ornament in crystal dishes. At the same period strong alcohol was considered a poison or a dangerous fluid; it has now a place in the cupboard of every housewife. She handles it as freely as water. In the morning she uses it to heat water even, or the coffee if need be. In the evening she uses it in preparing the tea. It has become a member of the family by the same right as all its predecessors. It is at once a food and a condiment. The same has occurred with gas, petroleum, and steam.

On cold wet mornings it awakens the miner's courage; it renews the navy's strength. How often during a march has it not set our soldiers on their feet again.†

* We cannot accept this ingenious paradox. We believe that on the contrary alcohol is ever a poison.—Ed. *Rev. Scient.*

† On the contrary observation tends to demonstrate that in these conditions a great prostration, characteristic of its toxic effect, quickly succeeds

If I visit a hospital I find it at the bedside of most of the patients. It is the defender who wards off the advance of tuberculosis. This scourge which is to ravage our generation begins by snatching them from the hands of death. It is it which will support the strength of that diabetic sufferer who has sought in his food only the enjoyment of wealth. In how many diseases is it not exhibited with as much benefit as quinine or opium?*

If I gain admission to the scientist's study, I find it useful, nay, indispensable to his work. One prefers coffee, another prefers alcohol, but all require some stimulant. Pitt and Fox never spoke without having drunk some port. M. Thiers took one or two glasses of Malaga every day. The illustrious Mr. Gladstone, who governs Britain in his seventieth year, takes two glasses of claret daily at lunch, two at dinner, besides a glass of port. His consumption of alcohol has been estimated by his own son at 7 gallons a year, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the mean consumption in England, $2\frac{1}{2}$ the mean in France, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ times the mean in Europe.

But it is with alcohol as with many other new acquisitions of civilisation, such as petroleum, coal-gas, steam and dynamite. It is thanks to dynamite that the Panama Canal will be finished. Petroleum almost served to burn down the Louvre. Petroleum and dynamite are none the less valuable conquests. Coal-gas and steam cannot be worked without risk, yet who dreams of doing without them? Such is the position of alcohol. It is a food, it is a medicine of the first rank, but its proper method of use must be known.

Alcohol is in the first rank of industrial materials. It is employed in the preparation of varnishes, dyes, soaps, perfumery, colours, various articles of wood and leather, in gilding, hat making, bookbinding, weaving, and in the production of many chemicals and drugs.

the stimulation of short duration which immediately follows the ingestion of alcohol—a veritable fire of straw which expends in a few moments the resources of the organism.—Ed. *Rev. Scient.*

* Because alcohol is an admirable medicine does it necessarily follow that it is not a poisonous food stuff? Opium smokers might so argue.—Ed. *Rev. Scient.*

Besides a distinction has been made. Primitive alcohol has been usually excepted from the general anathema, that is spirit of wine, ethylic alcohol, that which the Arabs were the first to distil, and to which Raymond Lulle, towards the middle of the Thirteenth Century, seems to have given the name of *eau de vie*, *aqua vitæ*.

Aqua vitæ, or *eau ardente*, as it was at first called, was a product of alchemy and pharmacy so long as vine culture and distillation did not make sufficient advance. It became a beverage only towards the end of the Fourteenth Century. The Eighteenth Century was the flourishing period of the production of good spirits. Cognacs and Armagnacs are the famous names of this family.

But at the end of the great wars, and thanks to war itself which raised the price of *eaux de vie*, a new spirit appeared, thanks to the progress of chemistry and of the art of distillation. This was *alcool industriel*, that is the spirit obtained by fermentation and distillation from grain, beets, molasses, potatoes, and later from all vegetable substances, even straw, couch grass (*triticum repens*) and the dahlia. This new spirit is, we are told, the most dangerous unless it is submitted to processes of rectification. The following table shews the changes which have taken place since 1840 in the production of spirits in France.

TABLE VII.

YEARS.	Number of Hectolitres.				
	Wines & Fruits.	Beets.	Molasses.	Potatoes, &c.	TOTAL.
Mean before 1840,	- 815,000	500	40,000	36,000	891,500
1853-1857,	- 165,000	300,000	137,000	69,000	611,000
1865,	- 963,668	335,130	117,453	124,521	1,510,881
1869,	- 436,673	318,957	407,720	217,440	1,410,790
1875,	- 717,732	369,263	651,047	110,650	1,848,992
1881,	- 61,839	563,240	685,616	510,582	1,821,287
1884,	- 96,883	569,257	778,714	485,001	1,934,464

The importance of these figures is seen at a glance. I shall restrict my attention for the present to the development of these *alcools industriels*, and to the conditions determining it, for it is subordinate to the production of the various spirits of wine.

After the ravages of the oïdium, this production passed through a first period of regression followed by an enormous leap in 1865; a second regression in 1869, a new leap in 1875; a third regression in 1881 after the phylloxera disease: I show further that the increase in the total production has been very moderate since 1875.

But how could our needs have been satisfied if in 1853, in 1869, and in 1881, the *alcools industriels* had not come to our help to fill the gap in the production of wine spirits? Far from proscribing them or overwhelming them with curses, let us rather recognise that these *alcools industriels* came in the nick of time to take the place of the wine spirits, which have almost disappeared. It is thus that, thanks to the general progress of our era, equilibrium and harmony are maintained.

Alcohol is nevertheless a very decided scourge to the man who abuses it. It ruins his health, deprives his wife and children of the necessities of life by sweeping his savings into the public-house: but that is the exception it must be said, and stoutly maintained, the very great exception, as statistics demonstrate.

It is always the most energetic and prosperous people who pay the heaviest tribute to alcohol. This tribute is very light if it be compared with the immense powers of emigration of the Scandinavian, British, and Italian people.

DEATHS FROM DRUNKENNESS.

			Proportion per 1000 of population.*
New York,	-	12·08	
Sweden, -	-	6·25	" "
Switzerland, -	-	3·81	" "
Belgium, -	-	3·83	" "
Norway, -	-	2·36	" "
England, -	-	2·27	" "
France, -	-	1·05	" "
Italy, -	-	0·81	" "
average,		1·81†	

* Proportion per 1000 deaths is evidently meant.—TRANSLATOR.

† It is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the fact that there is no relation between the number of the victims of drunkenness and of alcoholism. Chronic alcoholism leaves the body without defence against the

My conclusion is that the vice of man resulting from the abuse of an element of prosperity and progress should not react in any way on the element itself.*

E. FOURNIER DE FLAIX.

ART. V.—THE TWO CHANCELLORS: JAMES BETOUN
AND THOMAS WOLSEY.

THE loss of men and standards at Flodden was the least part of Scotland's sorrow. Slain lovers have ever had their epitaphs in verse; and though a later ballad-literature has sent up a plaint almost unsurpassed in depth of feeling, it is an inadequate expression of the true causes of the national despair. It was not the dread of the advance of Surrey's army which struck the people helpless. Defeat, if it had done anything, had begotten determination, and that same spirit which guarded the capital in the crisis, built its wall, and controlled its citizens, would, in the Lothians at least, have made another stand against the invader. The victor's approach might have been Scotland's blessing: but England had fashioned her policy anew, and the Northern Kingdom was to find her greatest enemies in her

attacks of infectious diseases, aggravates the slightest traumatic injury, and is the direct cause of a whole host of organic lesions, to which the greater part of the inmates of hospitals succumb, without counting those who get stranded in lunatic asylums, or their miserable and degenerate progeny, the increase in whose number is a cause of serious apprehension.

—Ed. *Revue Scientifique*.

* It is unnecessary to remark that we throw on M. F. de F. the entire responsibility of these opinions, which are from no point of view our own. Nevertheless our readers, whatever may be their ideas on this subject, will certainly find much matter of interest in the documentary information afforded by our colleague, and our love of fairplay leads us to publish it. But we must repeat that in our opinion Alcohol and Alcoholism are but one question, and that alcoholism is the plague and danger of our era.—Ed. *Revue Scientifique*.

internal discontent and social misfortunes. The curse of a child-king which continually haunted the line of Stewart had done its worst, for when James fell on Branxton Moor, his son and successor was but one year old. In the Century preceding, which includes almost exactly the reigns of four Kings, there had been four minorities; the average age at the time of accession had been eleven, and almost half the Century had been passed under regencies. It was an age of young Kings; but Charles, Francis, and Henry, were men of the world before James had left the nursery. England had ever been more fortunate in possessing a strong and active monarchy, and in Henry VIII., she was compelled to acknowledge one who did not forget to show the might of his kingly office. James, unlike his Tudor contemporary, did not rise on the ruins of a nobility. Party strife had torn the country long, and the Crown was unable to protect the nation against the turbulence of the barons. New complications in foreign politics also helped to emphasise the weakness of the central authority and the general prostration of the kingdom. France, the old ally, had become less hearty while there was any political value in the marriage of Louis XII. with Henry's sister; * and when Francis did renew the treaties, there was a *hauteur* in his manner, which told the Scottish lords that they must expect less and give greater thanks. The old relations were, however, gradually re-established, for the warlike attitude of England and her Imperial and Papal allies, made France desirous of putting Scotland and Venice on her side. But she could expect little from Scotland, not so much on account of pique, as on account of weakness.

Shortly after the death of James IV., Margaret was appointed Regent, and English ascendancy seemed assured. She was, however, like her brother, changeable and impulsive, and seemingly not unwilling to rival him in his matrimonial experiences. Her affairs of the heart were destined to be the prelude of political changes as important in her adopted country as her brother's were in his own kingdom. She soon

* September, 1514.

tired of widowhood, and four months after the birth of a posthumous son, she married the Earl of Angus. By this act she forfeited her right of regency, she submitted her power to a subject, and she shocked even the easy sensibilities of the nobles. To the majority it seemed fit that the male nearest to the throne should hold the regency instead of a wayward woman, and so they invited over John, Duke of Albany. With him came French courtiers and French manners: his arrival was the signal for a renewal of the old strife. Men ranged themselves in the French and English parties; and thus began that series of plots and counterplots which make up what has been called, 'the crooked lines of Scottish politics.'*

In this momentous and strangely interesting period, neither Henry nor Albany—and it may be added Margaret—were the chief characters. The Duke was at best no more than a puppet, though his violent temper made him almost valueless to his friends.† Margaret was headstrong and impolitic, and Henry, great ruler as he was, owed most of his greatness to the assistance he received. The guiding spirits were the two Chancellors—Thomas Wolsey and James Betoun.

Of Cardinal Wolsey, Chancellor of England, much has been written. Cavendish, Fiddes, and Mr. Brewer supply materials for a very complete picture of the great prelate, of his private life, of his influence on Henry and on foreign politics. The extent and importance of his Scottish correspondence have of late years been recognised, and it would be difficult, after the hints given by Ranke,‡ to consider any history of this portion of Tudor rule complete, without understanding the political connection between the two kingdoms. About the leader in

* Brewer, *Henry VIII.*

+ 'He is so passionate that and he bee aperte amongis his familiars, and doth here anything contrarius to his myende and pleasure, his accustomed manner is too take his bonet sodenly off his hed and to throwe it in the fire; and no man dare take it out, but let it be brente. My Lord Dacre doth affirme that at his last being in Scotland he did borne alone a dosyn bonetts aftir that maner.'—*Ellis*, 2nd Series, I., p. 226 (Surrey to Wolsey, 1523, Oct. 8).

‡ *Latin and Teutonic Nations.*

Scotland much less is known. Popular history speaks most of Albany or Margaret; notices of James Betoun, Chancellor and Archbishop of St. Andrews, are extremely rare. Posterity has quite forgotten his name; when a Betoun is mentioned, the Cardinal, his nephew, comes into our minds. Even Mr. Brewer, in his *magnum opus*, has by a slip testified to the strength of popular association.* Cardinal Betoun has added one peccadillo more to his many vices—the attempted theft of much that belongs to the interesting and romantic career of his uncle the Chancellor.

No better illustration of the subtle diplomacy which characterised the Sixteenth Century can be found, than in the history of the relations between England and Scotland during the earlier years of that century. The English simplicity, which had been the amusement of Philippe de Commynes, had, with many things else, undergone a most wonderful transformation.† Betoun and Wolsey were no novices in scheming, and the ingenuity they showed may have impressed very strongly the mind of Henry VIII., for in later years, when giving instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, he says, ‘the practises of prelates and clerks be wondrous, and thair juglyng so craftye, as oneless a man be ware thereof, and as oculte as Argus, he maye be lightly ledd by the nose, and beare the yoke, yea and (yett for blyndeness) not to know what he doith.’‡ When we add the layman Thomas, Lord Dacre, the caste of the drama of machiavellian intrigue is complete. The contemporary estimate of Betoun is unanimous in testifying to his diplomatic ability. ‘The said Chansoler,’ writes Norfolk in 1524, ‘is very crafty and sotyll.’§ Magnus discovered him to be ‘veraye subtil and dissymuling.’|| Wolsey himself well knew the character of his opponent;¶ and Sir Thomas More showed how much he was put out at his ‘craftie practises.’** Buchanan

* Oliver Cromwell is often made responsible for the demolition of the monasteries! † See Commynes. Beginning of Book VI.

‡ *State Papers and Letters of Sir R. Sadler*, I., p. 50.

§ 19th July, *State Papers* (Scot.), IV., p. 85.

|| 9th Jan., 1525, *S. P.* (Scot.), IV., 286.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

** *Ellis's Letters*, 2nd Ser., I., 290.

calls him a 'prudent man,'* and Knox, though naturally seeing in him a 'conjured ennemye to Christ Jesus,' is content to say that he 'sought the warld, and it fled him nott.'† Hume of Godscroft‡ likens him to a fox who fled from hole to hole, and could not be caught. Sir David Lyndsay does not forget to remind his reader that

'His heych prudence prevalit hym nocht ane myte' §

Not much is known of his history previous to his appointment as Chancellor in 1513.¶ He was the sixth son of John Betoun of Balfour, the representative of an old Fifeshire family.¶ The earliest record we have is the entry of his name in the University books of St. Andrews. On the vellum of 1487 he is mentioned as one of the 'Intrants,' in 1491 as a 'Determinant,' and in 1493 as a Licentiate and Master of Arts. The first event in his distinguished career in the Church was his presentation to the Chantry of Caithness in 1497. In 1503 he was made Provost of the Collegiate Church of Bothwell, and

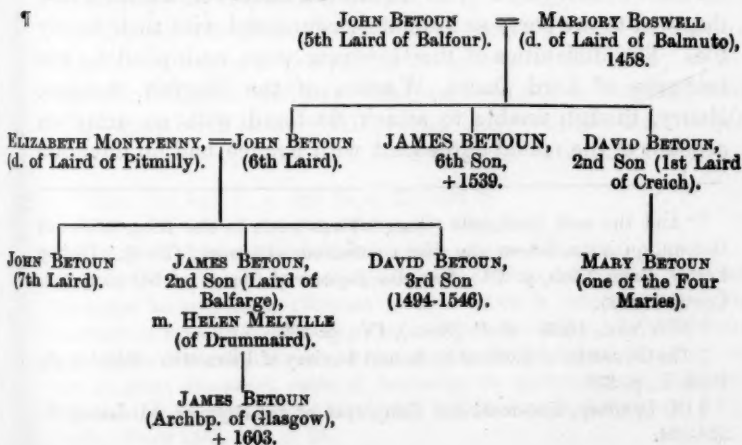
* *Historia*, lib. 14, xxv., 'Jacobum Betonem summa prudentia virum.'

† Knox, *Hist. of Reform.*, ed. Laing, pp. 13, 15.

‡ Hume had Douglas sympathies.

§ *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, l. 556.

¶ See *Scotichronicon* (Gordon) p. 245.



Prior of the famous Whithorn or Candida Casa. In the year following, he was Abbot of Dunfermline, and Lord of Session. He was Lord Treasurer in 1505. In 1508 he was consecrated to the See of Galloway, and within twelve months he received the bishopric of Glasgow.* He resigned the Treasurership, and in 1513 added to his See of Glasgow the rich abbacies of Arbroath and Kilwinning, and obtained the high office of Chancellor. By his election in 1522 to Archbishopric of St. Andrews, he became the most important man in the realm—as we find Magnus writing to Wolsey, ‘he is the man next to the Kyng of the grettest substance both of landes and goodes;’† or as the quaint Pitscottie phrases it, ‘a great man, and had monie casualties, and taxes, and teindis.’‡ Thus to the power in the State which he enjoyed in virtue of his political wisdom, was added the influence of the wealth of the prelate.

With the landing of Albany at the invitation of the most influential nobles in the kingdom, the policy of the French or anti-English party became more definite. The two great houses of Douglas and Hamilton were then at feud, and the turn in political events transformed them into the two parties of foreign interest.§ When Albany began the cure of the internal strife, he had to humiliate Angus—a Douglas, and husband of Margaret. The Hamiltons, moreover, were not well disposed to the party so intimately connected with their family foe. The difficulties of the Governor were multiplied by the intrigues of Lord Dacre, Warden of the English Marches. Henry, though unable to attack Scotland with an army on account of the recent agreement with France, had no intention

* ‘And the said bischopric (Glasgow) was gevin be the King to James Betoun, quha wes becom ane wise counsallour eftirwart,’ (1508). Bishop Leasley, Bann. Club, p. 78. See also *Register of Diocese of Glasgow*, (ed. Cosmo Innes).

† 29th Nov., 1524. *S. P. (Scot.)*, IV., p. 269.

‡ *The Chronicles of Scotland* by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie. Edinburgh, 1814, I., p. 330.

§ Cf. Lyndsay, *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, ed. Laing, II. 528-534.

of leaving the kingdom alone. Dacre was ready to keep within the letter of the Treaty, and yet conduct a policy which outdid the hopes of Henry in his subtlest moments. Betoun was believed to be the active cause of the strife and party warfare at this time, as Sir Thomas More writes later to Wolsey, 'that the Archbishop of St. Andrews putteth all his possible power to procure their destruction, and to rere broilerie, warre, and revolution in the Realme.'* The simple denial of the accusation might be considered the expression of national prejudice, had Dacre himself not set the matter at rest. On the 23rd August, 1516, he writes to Wolsey: 'I labor and studies all that I can to make division and debate to thentent that if the Duke woll not applie hymself, that theme that debate may growe that it shal be impossible to hym to do justice.'† Wolsey, at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, protested loudly against the imputation of sinister motives, and of underhand actions in the past; but Francis I. seems to have understood the true nature of the Cardinal's policy.‡ The steps by which Dacre strove to destroy the influence of Albany, then in the heyday of his popularity, were these—to foment a quarrel between him and the Chamberlain Hume, to stimulate the Governor's impolitic tendency to take severe measures for the purpose of restoring order, to force him to secure the persons of the royal children by besieging Stirling Castle and taking prisoner the Queen-Mother, and finally by harbouring the disaffected nobles to tempt him to give a *casus belli* by an invasion of English territory. Margaret escaped to England and there gave birth to the 'fair young lady,'* the future mother

* Ellis, 2nd Ser., I., p. 290 (Sept. 21, 1521 ?).

† Ellis, 1st. Ser., I., p. 131, 23rd Aug., 1516.

‡ 1520. *Memoire à François 1^{er} sur les affaires d'Ecosse*
(exposé des motifs qui doivent engager le roi de France à prendre vivement en mains les intérêts de l'Ecosse) . . . et est la vraye intention des Angloys de nous veoir délaissiez et hors d'espérance de son retour, de façon que soyons départiz et divisez, et que combatons l'un l'autre, comme jà en est, au grant détrimment, perte et dommaige du pouvre peuple.—Teulet. *Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVI. siècle.* Paris 1862. I., p. 25.

of Lord Darnley. Angus, who had been sent off to France, ere long succeeded in landing in England, where he offered himself to Henry as a ready tool in the designs against Scotland. This pronounced action widened the separation of the two parties in the North; and two other events seemed to put the breach beyond cure. Andrew Forman was elected Archbishop of St. Andrews, as a solatium for the resignation of his See of Bourges, which Leo X. had coveted for his nephew. Forman was a partisan of France, and his services had been recognised by the French King.† The other event was the murder by Home,‡ of the French Warden of the Marches, Antoine D'Arces de la Bastie. Albany had retired to France for another spell of that princely pleasure, which he could not enjoy at the rough Scottish Court, or amid State business so pressing, and he had left this French knight and some others—among them the Archbishop of Glasgow—to look after his interests. The untoward event was the cause of much correspondence between Scotland and France, and resulted in the Treaty of Rouen,§ by which they promised each other military aid and money in the event of either being attacked, and refused to enter into any agreement with England without common consent. The relations of the parties in Scotland were thus highly strained, and there was every opportunity for a bold man to make a move. Albany was expanding his leave of four months into one of five years, and an advantage offered itself to Angus on his return to Scotland to gain back his supremacy. The episode known in history as 'Clean the Causeway,' has been often told, by Sir Walter Scott among others. In the church of the Blackfriars, Edinburgh, some of the enemies of Angus had met together to lay a plot for his imprisonment. In the assembly sat James Betoun. Gavin Douglas, the poet-Bishop

* Margaret Douglas. Grandmother of James VI. and Arabella Stuart.

† He obtained the Archbishopric of Bourges through the influence of France, in reward for the services which promoted the expedition of 1513.

‡ Of the house of Douglas and next to Angus. He was therefore chief of the House of Douglas while Angus was in England.

§ Teulet. 26th Aug., 1517.

of Dunkeld, in the interests of the noble house to which he belonged, implored Betoun to exert his influence in favour of peace. 'Bot the bischop,' to quote Pitscottie, 'answeired agane with ane oath, chopping on his breast, saying, "Be me conscience, my lord, I knaw not the matter." Bot when Mr. Gavin hard the bischopis purgatioun, and chopping on his breast, and perceaved the plattis on his jack clattring, he thought the bischop deceaved him; so Mr. Gawin said to him, "My lord, your conscience is not guid, for I hear it clattring." The skirmish was fought in the street, and the Douglasses, despite the disadvantage of numbers, were victorious. 'And Bischope James Betoun fled to the Black Freir Kirk, and his rockit rivin aff him, and had beine slaine, had not beine Mr. Gawin Douglas requested for him, saying, "it was shame to put hand in ane consecrat bischop," and so,' adds Pitscottie, 'he was saiff that tyme.*' Angus was thus made master of the situation, and he early began to show his determination to use his power to the utmost. A new obstacle, however, arose. Margaret, for some cause hidden deep within the mazes of her Tudor will, had grown as tired of Angus, as her brother ere long was to be of Catherine. Henry lectured her on her unseemly conduct, on her unrighteous craving for a divorce. Her behaviour, said the royal critic, 'sounded openly to her extreme reproach and the blemishing of the royal house and the blood whereof she descended.†' But she would go on her own course, and leave to him the sole keeping of the Tudor traditions of conjugal propriety. She even went so far as to invite over Albany. A threatening message from the Estates roused the elegant voluptuary from his forgetfulness. He set sail, and arrived in Scotland in November 1521. The English party were in despair. Wolsey and Dacre saw with great disgust the alliance of the Queen with Albany and Betoun. Gavin

* Pitscottie, I., p. 288. Cf. Crawford's *Lives of Officers of State*.

† *State Papers*, IV. 219. Henry had not yet taken a fancy to Ann Boleyn. Moreover such conduct looked worse in a woman. Later on in 1542 Henry chose to express himself very differently, for in his wrath at James he wondered how such a villain could be the fruit of the goodly tree his sister.—Burton, III., 182.

Douglas was sent into England to explain matters and to abuse the Chancellor.* Dacre, to whom the leisure was irksome, was busy in circulating a story about improper relations between the Queen and the Regent. Margaret complained bitterly to her brother that he had listened to these reports, and Albany denied to Clarencieux 'the damnable abusion of the king's sister.†

Albany, guided by Betoun, had strengthened his position very considerably; but once more the revolutionary see-saw was set a-going, and Albany fell a prey to the cunning of Dacre. The Scottish lords had agreed on the 2nd September to attempt an invasion, and Albany with a large army set out for the Borders; but he advanced very half-heartedly. For some unknown reason he seems to have made a private arrangement with Dacre. Whether it was duplicity on the part of Albany, or the strong will of Dacre working on the weak and inconstant Duke, it is difficult to say: surmise may tend to support the latter view. There was in this campaign, as in all other transactions connected with this period, an almost Oriental idea of accommodation floating about. Dacre and the Scots had their 'vakis' in their camps, and no sooner did they determine on an encounter, than negotiation and intrigue put the soldiers out of employment. On this occasion England was entirely at the mercy of the enemy. No troops were ready; there was no unity in the aims of the Northern counties; and Carlisle could offer but a sorry resistance. Yet the consummate genius of Dacre turned this great expedition to nought. He delayed answering overtures, swore he could not read Scottish dispatches, sent them back to be translated into French, and persuaded Albany to make a month's truce and even to disband his army. All the while he was collecting troops and the English fleet was hurrying northwards. It was Betoun's turn now to be sorely grieved, and that at the fatuous conduct of his military ally. Wolsey of course loudly sounded his praise, and proclaimed the event an

* There he succumbed to the Plague.

† Henry had sent Clarencieux to Scotland to ascertain the extent of the Regent's influence. 15 Feb., 1522. His report is interesting—'Grim looks of the Scots to high and low' in Parliament, in Tolbooth.

'operatio dextrae Excelsi.' Albany meanwhile returned to France, and the truce having expired, the English were ready to take advantage of the state of war legally existing. Wolsey felt the difficulty of the campaign; he had seen the strength of Albany's army, and having perceived the danger of carrying on a continental war at the same time, had endeavoured to make a treaty with France. Even if he were unsuccessful, the delay and negotiations might raise suspicion among the Scots as to the good faith of Francis. His military preparations too were now more efficient. Surrey took the command, and the Warden seconded his efforts. The description of this campaign is best given in Wolsey's own words:—

'There is left neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn, or other succor for man, insomuch as some of the people wh: fled from the same . . . were compelled to come into England begging bread wh: often times when they eat they die incontinently for the hunger passed, and with no imprisonment, cutting off the ears, burning them in the face or otherwise, can be kept away. Such is the punishment of Almighty God to those that be the disturbers of good peace, rest, and quiet in Christendom.' *

No wonder that amid such carnage and cruelty Dacre confessed he had seen the devil six times.† Betoun maintained his position and resisted the attempts of the Warden. When Albany returned to Scotland with French troops, French interests again revived, and the Lords refused to surrender the young King into the custody of Margaret, in the event of Albany not coming back. It seems strange that Surrey did not push forward. Want of provisions, the large army of the enemy, a counter expedition by the Scots in the direction of Carlisle, have been suggested, but Mr. Brewer lays most stress on the fierce treatment which an English army would have had to expect from the exasperated Lowlanders.‡ At any rate when the Regent returned, French influence rose, and that Tudor enigma, Margaret, who a few months before had advised Henry to make a sudden manoeuvre, had now pledged faith with the

* Cal. of *State Papers*, Hen. VIII., 30th Aug., 1523.

† Ellis, 1st Ser., I., p. 217. (at Jedburgh).

‡ I., p. 548-9.

party for France. The Estates, says the Abbot of Kelso, are 'daft onnaterall lords and missaivit counsell seducit with France.' The Frenchmen are wretched beings, having nothing but what the Chancellor gives them of vacant benefices, 'and sic abbayes maun susteyn them to be louns and nyght waikars to play at carts and dyis, and ilk ane uther nyght thre or four of them stikit and gorit.*' An opportunity was offered for Albany to restore his prestige. He collected perhaps the most powerful and well-equipped army which Scotland had ever marshalled on the Borders, and which Skelton with the licence which his verses demand numbers at one hundred thousand. Betoun, though refusing to disabuse the English of his peaceful intentions, issued at Edinburgh a proclamation to the troops. Surrey became alarmed at the great preparations which the Archbishop had guided; but Wolsey was at his ear with advice. To those who have read the documents bearing on this campaign, Wolsey will appear more of a general than will the trained soldier Surrey. He enters into every detail, advises on every petty move.

His greatest triumph, however, was to counsel Surrey to play a Fabian game, and weary out the Scots by 'drawing out the time till the victuals are spent and pursuing them as they return.†' Albany advanced and laid siege to Wark Castle, a strong fortification south of the Tweed. The attack was partly successful‡—when suddenly for a second time and for a reason as mysterious, the Regent retreated. Skelton could not let the occasion pass:—

* Abbot of Kelso to Dacre, 8th Sept., 1523. *Cal. State Papers.*

† Wolsey to Surrey, 1st Oct., 1523. *Cal. State Papers.* Cf. also Wolsey's exhortation to Surrey (Oct. 12.):—'It is not unknown that King James whom your father and you slew, was a man of great courage, well beloved and in great estimation amongst his subjects: and yet was it not a little difficult for him to bring the Scots, the King's Grace being then out of the realm, and the King of Scots having great treasure . . . may be a remembrance and an example to those which at a more unmeet time would think to attempt the same.'

‡ George Buchanan was present on the Scottish side.

'False Scottes are ye :
Your hartes sore faynted,
And so attaynted,
Lyke cowardes starke,
At the castell of Warke,
By the water of Twede,
Ye had evil spede.'

Then addressing Albany :—

'How ye pretende
For to defende
The yong Scottyshe kyng ;
But ye meane a thyng,
And ye coude bryng
The matter about,
To putte the eyes out,
And putte hym doune,
And set hys crowne
On your owne heed,
Whan he were deed.' *

In May, 1524, Albany sailed for France, and brought his ill-starred career in Scotland to an end. He never returned to hear the threats and taunts which his cowardice and weakness had put into men's mouths.† Betoun could hardly have been sorry at the departure of his unhappy ally. He was unfettered now, and with his state-craft alone Wolsey would have to reckon. Dacre begins by sending Betoun some wholesome advice, and an exhortation to work for the good of Scotland, and remember 'how the King of Navarre lost his name, crown, and kingdom for France, the late King of Scots who lost his life for France, and the Duke of Wirtemberg who lost his Duchy for France.'‡ He closes in a right charitable spirit—probably the result of his study of political history—wishing to learn the pleasure of the Chancellor, 'and the sooner the better, that the poor bodies may draw to the Borders and win their hay and "elding" against winter.' He writes several

* 'The Duke of Albany and the Scottes.'

† Cf. 'By God's blood, we will never serve you more nor never wear your badges again.'—*Cal. State Papers*, III., 3512 (Hen. VIII.)

‡ *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII., 1524, May 26 and June 4.

letters to him, but is not pleased with the answers received.* Betoun gives elegant but rather unsatisfactory replies; he impresses him with the importance of the Scottish constitution; he must wait till a full Session of the Lords.† Dacre reports his suspicions to Wolsey,‡ who straightway determines to take the work in hand himself.

Betoun at this time was living in the Castle of St. Andrews. The pile stood at the upper end of the city on a high rock washed on its three sides by the waves of the North Sea. A deep moat separated it from the shore. It was the Archbishopal Palace, and if the majestic ruins of battlements and dungeon be any indication of its former grandeur, rather a feudal stronghold than the dwelling of a priest. There is a loneliness and mystery about the place wonderfully in keeping with the schemes and acts which had in it their origin. It is an impressive thought to call up Betoun within his sea-girt towers, guiding the destinies of his country, seeming away from the world, yet the centre of its excitement; silent, yet like the great walls which guarded him, stubborn and strong. Popular tradition has made martyrdom and assassination the memories of the spot; and the earlier and more stirring part which it played in the national history has been entirely forgotten.§

Betoun was doubtless aware that he had to try his skill against the greatest diplomatist of his time. But 'Greek had met Greek,' and the craft of the Scottish Chancellor

* Cal. *State Papers*, Henry VIII., 10 July, 1524.

† *Ibid.*, 18 July, 1524. ‡ *Ibid.*, 17 July, 1524, *et passim*.

§ Cf. 'Twas there of many a tragic act the scene—
Wishart was burned, and cruel Bettoune slain, &c.

'Saint Andrews. A poem by John Copland, written in 1775' (*Bodl. Gough Scot.*), 199). This wonderful poet describes the Castle's strength thus:

Massive indeed! firm as the solid rock
On which they're built; and braving seem to mock
The iron tooth of all-devouring time;
Hard is the stone, but harder still the lime.'

The Eighteenth Century must have been as careless as the present, for

'There birds obscene construct their nests on high.'

was to counteract the intrigues of the wily Cardinal, who had now become convinced of the futility of the English hopes, as long as Betoun guided Scottish affairs. Wolsey acknowledges Betoun's position and influence, hopes he will continue 'in the mind in which he hears he is,' promises to make his authority and honour greater than any prelate in Scotland has enjoyed for many years, and concludes, 'ye shall find me so sure and perfect a friend as, I trust, shall in time coming be to your great comfort, weal, profit, and exaltation, wherein or in anything that I may do you honour or pleasure in, ye shall find me ready and glad to concur with you to good and virtuous purpose, at all times by the grace of Almighty God.*' So runs Wolsey's first epistle, sufficiently well filled with sentiments of peace and friendship, and likely to gain over even the most sullen opponent. He proposes that a diet should be held to which Betoun, on account of his political importance, will be invited: then by a sudden movement the Chancellor of Scotland is to become a recipient of the enforced hospitality of King Harry. Betoun thanks Dacre for 'his good mind to the weal of both realms, and prays him to continue it as he will do,' but the Lords think he should not 'meet Norfolk in person, though he would have been right glad to have done so.†' Norfolk having written in distress to Wolsey, that as far as his 'poure mynd' understood matters, there was something strange about Betoun's conduct, receives a letter in reply telling him how poorly he has appreciated the designs of his superior, and recommending a speedy sharpening of his honest wits to a more statesmanlike cunning. As the communication is an excellent commentary on the opening letter, and written by the same hand, a portion may be quoted. 'As hereunto, my lord, ye knowe right well that the practise set forthe for the said diett was never ment ne intended on this side for any comunicacion of peax, whiche the Kinges Grace wolde or thought shulde have been had in the same; considring it were not mete ne honerable that His Grace

* *Cal. State Papers*, Hen. VIII., July 21, 1524.

† *Ibid.* Chancellor to Dacre, July 23, 1524.

shulde condesende under any such diett with the Scottes; but it was done only to the entent under that colour to have intercepted the said Chaunceler by meane of the Erle of Angwishe,* wherebye he with al his adherentes shulde the more facilly have been induced or compelled to condesende to the ereccion of thair king, and the extincting of the Duke of Albany's government; being the principall thinges whiche the Kinges Highnes gothe aboute.† But if Norfolk had been too straightforward, Wolsey was not to be behind in showing that he possessed some theory of honourable dealing, for he adds this strange postscript,—‘it were not convenient he shuld have a saufe conduyt but to be trayned by other dulce and *faire* meanes therunto.’ He continues sending letters of sweet sentiment to Betoun, now and then inditing a line to his lieutenant, reminding him ‘that is ryght expedient that he pondre the cause of his tendre wrytyng to the Chancelor.‡ He had not forgotten the ‘politic handling’ which he had so successfully used in deceiving Pope Clement.§ What most surprises us is that a man so well versed in the secrets of diplomacy and who had complained|| that ‘among twenty [newsletters] there is scantly two found true,’ should have imagined he was dealing with a babe, or with a man who could not but be crafty in an atmosphere which breathed nothing but intrigue. The promises of dignities and the plan of a diet failed; so did that of an embassy.

The great matter of dispute was what was called the Erection of the King of Scots—referred to by Wolsey above—*i.e.*, the acknowledgment of the King by the Estates, and his choice of a council of advisers, instead of the appointment of a ‘regent.’ Albany was not to return again, and it was thought a fitting opportunity for declaring in the King's favour instead of appointing

* So invariably spelt in the English letters.

† *S. P. (Scot.)*, IV., 1st Aug., 1524, pp. 85-92.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 110, 19th Oct., 1524.

§ Sharon Turner, II., pp. 221-3.

|| *State Papers (Henry VIII.)* 12th Oct., 1523.

a new guardian. It was aimed, too, as a blow at Betoun and the French party, and was heartily supported by Henry and his minister. The Erection was carried out in August, 1524, in the old Tolbooth of Edinburgh; and the Act was confirmed by Parliament. The business was important, and Betoun left his castle to attend the assembly. He would not sign the deed of allegiance: the Bishop of Aberdeen likewise refused: both were accordingly placed under arrest. Margaret wrote off post haste to her brother—‘I desyr to knawe ye Kingis plesour tuechyne ye Bischep of Sanctandrose and ye Bischep of Abyrdene, and in quhat schort I sal do, consyderyne they ar in handis; and speciale of ye Bischep of Sanctandrose, for I haf doune mayr for hyme no ony oder. I culd newyr haf his gud wyl, bot ewyr did Me ye displesour yat he mycht; and I ame swyr he wall do, and ewer it be in his power. Yarfor I refer Me to his Grace.’* The arrest meant a great accession of strength to the servants of Henry: they were not only made more influential in the government, but the responsibility of their actions was placed on the young King. Henry’s presents of horses, gold-bucklers, and pleasant letters were answered by the grateful thanks, which young nephews under such circumstances have in all ages given.† Lyndsay, though no favourer of Betoun or his party, laments the revolution:—

‘The Kyng was bot twelf yeris of aige,
Quhen new rewlaris come, in thair raige,
For commonweill makand no cair,
Bot for thair profeit singulair.
Imprudentlie, lyk wytless fuilis,
The tuke the young Prince frome the scuilis,
Quhare he, under obedience,
Was lernand vertew, and science,
And haistelie platt in his hand
The governance of all Scotland ;

* S. P. (Scot.), p. 114, 31 Aug., 1524.

† Francis was mollified by a letter couched in the most courteous and soothing terms the Estates could devise.

I gyf thame to the Devyll of hell
 Quhilk first devysait that counsell,
 I wyll nocht say, that it was treassoun ;
 Bot I dav sweir, it was no reassoun.
 I pray God, let me never see ryng
 In to this realme, so young ane Kyng.*

Wolsey naturally enough was delighted at the arrest of the Bishops, and counselled Norfolk that on no account were they to be released, for the 'displeasure done unto theym shal alwaies remayne imprinted and incorporate in thair hertes, whiche they shall studye by oon waye or other to revenge, whatsoever demonstration they shal make to the contrary.'† The victory would only be complete, when he got Betoun into his own power. He suggested to Margaret and to Norfolk that he should be sent to Berwick.‡ He had, however, over-reached himself. If there was anything which Margaret could not accomplish for him, it was the extradition of the Archbishop. In a postscript to a letter written by Norfolk to Wolsey, there are the following significant words: 'Came hither my servant Hals, and hath shewed me, that the Quene doth saye that in no wise she dare send the said Bishops to Berwick; for she asking the opinion of all the Lordes thereof, they answered presisely they would never consent that any Scottishman shuld be sent into England for offence doon to their sovereign lord; and bad my servaunt take it for a resolute answer, she wold not send theym, for if she shuld, all Scotland wold grudge against her.'§ The Scots showed how strongly they resented the exile of Betoun at a foreigner's request. Mr. Hill Burton points out that the greatest charge against Albany had been that he had Angus carried off into France by means of French agents.

The idea of an embassy again occurs to Wolsey as feasible. He will try to get the Archbishop into the realm, 'not to be kept in captivitie and prisoner, but *deteyned for a season* till the yong King shalbe better corroborate in his estate, and good waies found for the allecting and drawing of him to take surely

* *Complaynt to the Kyng*, ll. 127-154.

† *S. P. (Scot.)*, IV., p. 121, 2nd Sept., 1524.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 126 and 141.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 147, 19th Sept., 1524.

the said Kingis part.* Money for the Queen and others is not to be wanting to make the scheme a success.† At this period Scottish affairs occupied almost the entire attention of Wolsey. He has left an incredible quantity of papers on the relations between England and Scotland, and amply justifies the remark of the biographer Fiddes about 'the uncommon quality in the Cardinal—his long and seemingly elaborate dispatches.‡ Pinkerton, before the days of Mr. Brewer, was astonished at the mass of papers belonging to this period, preserved in the Cottonian Library.§

Wolsey had now two spies at Edinburgh, Magnus and Radclyff. The history of their mission to the North is curious. The original intention had been, that they should wait on the Borders till the Scottish embassy had passed south, so that they might go, not as ambassadors, but as mere agents or messengers. It is not absurd to construe this as a scheme for establishing some precedent about the dignities of the respective representatives. Probably some understood the deep game of the Cardinal, for, most unaccountably, the Scottish embassy was delayed. Magnus and Radclyff, wearied of their loitering on the Borders, set out for the Scottish capital. They were well received, and were no doubt better pleased, than Wolsey would be, with the title of 'Ambassadors from England,' which they saw on every dispatch, and heard at every interview. Meantime Betoun had been set at liberty, probably on account of his weak health,|| and partly, as Magnus writes, because the Earl of Arran had made 'speciall sute for hym, in suche maner that, if the Queen had not consented thereunto, the saide Archebushshop shulde have been delivrede contrarye her mynde and therefore Her Grace saide better it was to agree to his putting at libertie.¶ Magnus had

* *Ibid.*, p. 181, Oct., 1524.

† *Ibid.*, p. 194, 24th Oct., 1524, &c.

‡ Preface to Chap. xxvi.

§ 'The opulence of original correspondence for these two years surprises and embarrasses an historian.'

|| 'A continuall sekeleeve man.' See *S. P. (Scot.)* p. 212. 2nd Nov., 1524. Betoun sent to France for medicines.

¶ *Ibid.*

several interviews with Betoun, and seemed rather pleased with his hospitality and good intentions, though he was forced to conclude, as Dacre, Norfolk, and Margaret had done on previous occasions, that he 'dare not give unto hym firme credence.*' An event happening shortly afterwards tended to shroud the conduct of the Chancellor in greater mystery. Two galleys with a French embassy on board arrived from France, but instead of sailing up the Firth towards Edinburgh, as Magnus imagined they would, and was firmly convinced they should, they steered direct for the Castle of St. Andrews, and cast anchor in the bay.† Magnus alarmed at the prospect of French intrigue being renewed at the Archbishop's palace, wrote demanding an explanation. Betoun's reply is so interesting and quaint, that it may be quoted:—

'My lord, I wald have bene rycht glaid of zour heir being with me in Sanctandris yis tyme of Zoile, and suld have tretit zow ye best I culd, bot I accept wele zour resonabill excuse.‡ Ye sall understand the Frenche men arrayvit at Dunbar before Zoile in company with my cusing of Arbrotht, convoyit in two gallyonis as I understand, to bryng furnising to ye house of Dunber and sure conducting of my said cousing, and causit him to cum to me. . . . And as for the Frenchemennis being heir in Saintandris ze sall understand that ane part of thame come yis last Saint Stephanis Day, and uyeris sen syne; I nevir knawand of thair cuming, unto ye tyme thai knokit at ye zet (I beand at my dener) in company with ye remanent of my Lordis being in this tounse for the tyme; and leit yame in, and tretit yame as accordit, because they had writingis furth of France to me and uyeris my Lordis being heir. Bot yai war generall, and of auld datis.'§

Wolsey was apprised of this strange procedure,|| and Margaret wrote to Henry VIII, accusing Betoun of working 'contrare ye will of ye Kyng,' and concluding with an earnest request to Henry to 'look substanciously apoune' the matter.¶ Something further occurred which helped to strengthen the

* *Ibid.*, pp. 236-7. 10th Nov., 1524.

† David Betoun, his nephew, (Ambassador from Scotland to France) was on board. *Vide* succeeding letter.

‡ Magnus had been invited by Betoun.

§ *S. P. (Scot.)* IV., p. 282. 29th Dec., 1524.

|| *Ibid.*, pp. 286-7. 9th Jan., 1525.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 295. Jan. 23-24, 1525.

French influence more than all the scheming of the two Betouns and the Lords at St. Andrews. News arrived of the disastrous defeat and the capture of Francis; and deep sympathy for the ally in adversity was aroused. As Scotland had rejoiced with France at her victory at Marignano ten years before, so now she felt the defeat at Pavia almost as keenly as if she had been involved in the catastrophe. Poor Magnus and Radclyff had either been too officious in their duties, or the Edinburgh folks had got tired of them, for they sent a doleful despatch to Wolsey wishing to be recalled. They had been blamed for raising storms and bad weather, and Magnus thus tells the sad tale:—‘I, nor my servauntes, couthe nor mought passe of late in the stretes, naither to nor from the Courte, but openly many women banned, cursed, waried, and gave me and myne the mooste grevous maledictions that couth be to our faces.’* This popular attitude, and the crisis in French politics, seriously affected the attempts at an accommodation, and a treaty was only concluded in 1528.

Angus, the hated husband of Margaret,† had arrived in Scotland shortly after the coming of Magnus and Radclyff. The King had then reached the age of 14, and was no longer a ‘minor pupil’: guardians had therefore to be chosen. The nobles selected were Argyle, Errol, and Angus. It was agreed that each should be chief-counsellor in turn, and that the first term of office should be held by the Douglas. He like many other worthies of history, refused to surrender the power which he had thus obtained. Betoun at first supported the triumvirate, but he soon found it necessary to disavow participation in the selfish aims of Angus. The King too chafed under his restraint, and sent for Betoun, who recommended him to send for the Earl of Lennox. The strain grew daily, till it developed into war. ‘Before the enemy shall take thee from us,’ was the savage speech of the Douglas to the young King, ‘if thy body shall be torn in pieces, we shall have a part.’ Lennox fell at Kirkliston. Douglas, after a stout resistance in

* *S. P. (Scot.) IV.*, p. 406. 25th Sept., 1525.

† Margaret obtained from Betoun a decree of divorce, 1528.

Tantallon, was obliged to flee; but before he had retreated he had punished the diffidence of the Chancellor by sacking his palace at St. Andrews. Betoun escaped with difficulty and wandered about Boigromuir* in the disguise of a shepherd.

' His heych prudence prevalit hym nocht ane myte,
That tyme the courte bair hym sic mortall feid :
As presoneir thay kept hym in despyte ;
And sum tyme wyst not quhare to hyde his heid,'
Bot, dissagysit, lyke John the Reif, he yaid.
Had nocht bene hope bair hym sic companye
He had been stranglit be melancholye.'†

During the ascendancy of Angus the attitude of Betoun towards England had to all appearance changed. In 1525 he was party to a letter sent to Henry craving his assistance in their good endeavours for the young King.‡ Magnus continued his audiences, and the old bribe of promotion was again brought forward. Wolsey is informed that it is right Betoun should be indebted for his hat to England.¶ Shortly after Angus's *coup d'état*, he was brought back to Court, Angus having been bribed: and later we discover the castle rebuilt and refurnished, and see the King and the Douglasses spending Easter there with the old prelate. On the overthrow of Angus, the power of the King was exerted with greater vigour than before in the interests of law and order.¶ Douglas had drawn much of his strength from the border 'reifers,' the wild and restless clans of Armstrong and Graeme, whom the recent international squabbles had made supreme in the Debateable Land. The most striking event of the new centralising policy of the Crown, on behalf of which Betoun's influence was

* The name is variously given, e.g., Balgrumo.

† Lyndsay. *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, ll., 556-562.

‡ *S. P. (Scot.)*, p. 312-4. Jan. 26, 1525. Cf. Articles between Wolsey and Angus, 4th Oct., 1524 (*S. P. Scot.*, p. 159); and Angus's agreement with Wolsey to support the English interest, 12th Oct., 1525.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 442, Jan. 24th 1526.

¶ Cf. *Strena ad Jacobum V. Scotorum Regem de suscepto Regni Regimine*, 1528. Edinb. Bann. Club Miscell. Closing lines:—*Interea Jovis ipse puer placidissima regni Sceptra gerens populo dat bona Jura suo.*

exerted, and which found some analogy in the Tudor action concerning 'livery,' was the expedition against the famous John Armstrong. All that the State Records give to support their fame and ballad-glory, is this short sentence—'John Armstrong, *alias* Black Jok and Thomas his brother, convicted of common theft and reset of theft, hanged.'* Border raids became fewer and duller in adventure. The negotiations too, between England and Scotland flagged: indeed during the years 1530-31 there is an almost entire blank, the only incident breaking the silence being the discussion on the retention of a small border town by the English.† Henry VIII., says Bishop Lesley, had no time for Scotland, 'for he wes sa bissy occupyit in purchasing ane devorce to be hed betwix him and Quene Katherine his wyffe.'

In those years too the scheming and counter-scheming of the two Chancellors came to an end. Wolsey like Betoun had fallen, but though the latter had been received back to favour, fate would not have my lord Cardinal again in Westminster. And when he seemed destined to be overwhelmed by further disgrace, death did the kind office and saved him from the vengeance of his master. Betoun though once more free did not recover his office of Chancellor. The remaining years of his life have had in the eyes of the vulgar—as far as they have turned them on his career—an ecclesiastical, rather than a purely political interest—and that chiefly on account of his connection with Patrick Hamilton. Henry tried to develop the plans of his late minister, and James leaned for support on the wisdom and experience of his old friend the Archbishop. We may pass over the flight of Angus and Bothwell to England, the incursion of 1532, and the squabble over the Caw Mills. Henry, now posing as the defender of the 'New' Faith, had sent the Bishop of St. David's‡ with some theological works for the edification and conversion of his nephew; and a

* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, quoted by Hill Burton.

† The English refuse to 'file or clean' the bills for Canaby, 2nd October, 1531.

‡ Buchanan (ed. Aikman) II., p. 312.

short time afterwards an embassy had arrived beseeching the king to meet his uncle in England or France, to talk over matters generally, and adding that Henry would be happy to pay all the expenses, if his nephew's purse could not stand the strain. There is no doubt that Henry was scheming to get hold of the person of James. He was 'verrie rejoyced' when he heard that James had promised to come.

'Not the less,' says Pitscottie, 'the wicked bischopes of Scotland would not thoall the King of Scotland to pas thair, but caused him send an ambassadour to excuse him that he might not win at that time for caussis. For the bischopis feared if the King had mett with King Harie, that he would have moved him to have castin doun the abbeyis and to have altered the religioun as the King of Ingland has done a befoir in Ingland. Thairfoir the bischopis buddit him to byd at home and gave him thrie thousand pundis of yeirlie rent out of thair benefices.'*

No doubt the 'wicked bishops' were not enamoured of the conduct and advice of the royal heretic, but their action was not entirely one of selfish or partisan colouring. Commynes, years before, had given out, as a piece of worldly wisdom, that princes should never meet, and future events in 1542 are sufficient proof that the clergy gave wholesome advice to their Sovereign on this occasion.† Scott points out in his biographical memoir of Sir Ralph Sadler, that James resented Henry's dictatorial manner, that the geldings, compared with the lavish gifts of Francis, were paltry in the eyes of the young monarch. The conservative tendencies of James were strong, and whatever ability and learning he saw around him, he saw centred in the clerical caste. The French alliance which Henry had attempted to render ineffectual by the above plot was made surer; and James, 'sick of his protracted celibacy,'‡ received the hand of Magdalen, daughter of Francis I. § The connection was further cemented after the death of his wife, by a marriage with the famous Mary of Guise. The negotiations had been successfully carried out by David Betoun, Cardinal of St. Stephen in Monte Coelio,

* Pitscottie, I. p. 349.

† See Burton, III., 180.

‡ Buchanan (Aikman), II., p. 314.

§ He originally intended to marry Mary d. Duc de Vendôme.

who was also Bishop of Mirepoix in Languedoc,* and had been frequently ambassador to France. He was now to step into the place of his venerable uncle, and administer the affairs of the unhappy kingdom. James Betoun died in 1539, 'being of greit age, quha had lived lang in greit honour in Scotland.'†

The characters and careers of the two Chancellors exhibit a striking parallel. In the foregoing narrative of their diplomatic relations, they appear as foils to each other,—Wolsey showing himself as the positive or aggressive factor, Betoun rather as the guide of a negative or defensive policy. Both prelates possessed the highest ecclesiastical powers in their respective countries, and kept the consciences of Kings.

'The prelasie then bear so great a swaye
That king and keisar must their mindes obaye.'‡

Both held the highest offices in the State, and both attained the eminence with marvellous rapidity. Though a hard fate did not dog the footsteps of Betoun so relentlessly as it did Wolsey's, there is still some grim similarity in the nature of their exiles from Court. A search among obscure historical documents would seem to show, that, though the relations of the Scottish King and his Chancellor, like those of Henry and Wolsey in their earlier days, were most friendly, even James V. tired of good offices, and laid the troubles of his youthful reign at the door of his old friend. §

* Made Bishop in 1537.

† Lesley's *Hist.* (Bann. Club), p. 158.

‡ Fulwell's 'Flower of Fame'; section 'Lamentation of James V.' *Harl. Misc.*, IX., p. 357.

§ *Message Envoyé par le Roi d'Ecosse au Pape Paul*, III. [1535]. 'Cestes dannabilles et déplésandes guevres que sont entre nostre oncle le roy d'Angleterre et nous, comme nous sommes surement adverte et informé ont procédé principalement par les labores et secrètes intelligences dudict archevesque.' He charges Betoun with self-aggrandisement.—Teulet, I., p. 81. Cf. also Lawson to Cromwell, 7th May, 1533, S. P. (Scot.), p. 643: 'The King of Scottes was the last weke at Lawder and Mewros thre or four daies with a small company. And the Archb. of St. Andrewes is comyttid to warde in Saint Andrewes castell, in the keeping of the Erle of Rothosse: sum saye because he woll lend the Kyng no money, and ane uther saying is because he hath wryten letters out of the realme contrary the Kinges mynd.' In *Journal of Occurrents* (Bann. Club), he is said to be convicted of lese-majesty. See p. 17.

There is this difference, however, that James later recovered from his ingratitude, while the sudden death of Wolsey prevented Henry from giving way to the impulse of forgiveness. Both prelates have been accused by contemporaries and later historians of self-aggrandisement, of holding many livings and drawing large revenues, of extravagant entertainment, of love of pomp, and of unholy ambition—the one as anxious to obtain a Cardinal's hat * as the other to wear the Triple Crown. In them the two greatest satirists of the time found inspiration for their lashing verses. Thus spoke Skelton of the Cardinal of York :—

' Such a prelate I trow
 Were worthy to row
 Throw the streytes Marocke
 To the gybbet of Baldock.
 He would dry up the streames
 Of nine kynges realme
 Al rivers and wels
 Al waters that swels
 For with us he so mels
 That within England dwels
 I would he were somewhere els.

 God save his noble grace
 And grant him a place
 Endlesse to dwel
 With the devill of hel.' †

Lyndsay, though a plain speaker, was not so extravagantly personal in his satire on the priesthood.

Both Wolsey and Betoun have the merit of being legal reformers.‡ In their attitude to education, too, they were alike. Wolsey gave Christ Church to Oxford. In his hour of eclipse his most strenuous endeavours were made in behalf of the foundation which he had rejoiced to see so prosperous. Betoun, says Bishop Lesley, 'foundit and biggit ane greit pairt of the

* The only hat sent to Scotland before David Betoun's time, was sent to Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow. Clement VII., however, was Anti-Pope.

† *Why come ye not to Court?*

‡ Reforms in Chancery (see *Green*), and in the Court of Session.

new collodge of St. Androis, and left greit somes of money in thresoure to compleit the samin.* If in later years some of the funds were diverted, and if what did remain was credited to the munificence of his nephew, the College archives still confess to his generosity and his good wishes for the learning of Scotland.

The period which includes the careers of Betoun and Wolsey is at best one long series of political acts and intentions, displaying the subtlest and most merciless diplomacy. The nations of Europe had become possessed by that spirit which had its fullest expression in the pages of Machiavelli's *Prince*; and the grim Florentine could have hoped for few better illustrations of his philosophy than the policy of the statesmen who guided the destinies of England and Scotland. They were not troubled with the principles which underlie the codes of modern international law; the duty of one State to another was but the duty of deceit. Treaties were not to be what they seemed; intrigue was to destroy powerful rivals; and underhand warfare, with the aid of a wasted border-land, was to be the recognised method of attack. The doctrine that the ruin of a rival country may be effected by stirring up strife amongst its leaders was perhaps the most prominent element in the policy of England during the years succeeding the victory at Flodden. Henry found it a more efficient instrument than the squadrons of Surrey, and he used it to good purpose, till by it his policy was crowned in 1546 with success by the murder of Cardinal David Betoun. Sir Thomas More, though at a later period, when whirled along in the vortex of political life, he accused Archbishop Betoun of doing every thing to 'rere broilerie, warre, and revolution,' has told us how the Utopians 'sow seeds of contention among their enemies, and animate the Prince's brother or some of the nobility'; though when they 'agree to a truce, they observe it so religiously that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their

* Ibid., p. 158.

enemies' country waste, nor burn their corn, and even in their marches they take all possible care that neither horse nor foot may tread it down. . . . When a town is surrendered to them, they take it into their protection; and when they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it.' Lord Dacre, of all men, would have been the best fitted to appreciate this passage. When in 1542 Henry ordered Norfolk to destroy the castles on the Scottish side of the border, the latter replied, with his characteristic blunt simplicity, rather than in irony, that there was none to destroy.* If, indeed, as William Thomas said, the Scottish dominions, compared with the realm of England, were 'as the barren mountains of Savoy unto the beauty of the pleasant Tuscany;' † it was no geological freak of the Sixteenth Century which fixed a black and desolate waste between the countries, nor a work of the spirit of Michael Scot, which called into existence Johnny Armstrong and his moss-troopers. The wisest heads in Scotland recognised the cause of their country's discomfiture. It is Lyndsay's continual wail. Dame Scotia in the great anonymous work of 1549—*The Complaynt of Scotland*—reproaches the Three Estates for their want of patriotism in the face of the enemy—'lyik the ald subtil doggis, bydand quhil conspiracione or discentione suld ryes among zou, than be there austuce and subtilite thai furnest wiht money baitht the parteis adversaris to slay downe uderis, quhilk vas ane reddy passage to gar them conqueis our realme vithout straik or battel, throcht the occasion of the social ciuil and intestyne veyre that rang sa cruelly throucht our cuntre.' ‡ Mr. Froude expresses perhaps rightly the attitude of the kingdoms to each other when he says—'The English hated Scotland because Scotland had successfully defied them; the Scots hated England as an enemy on the watch to make them slaves.' § The remark

* See Burton, III., 182.

† *The Pilgrim* (ed. Froude), p. 68.

‡ Ed. Murray (E. E. Text. Soc.), pp. 72-87.

§ *Hist. of Eng.*, III., 346.

which fell from the lips of old 'Merry Andrew'* about the 'devyllsye dysposicioun of a Scotysman, not to love nor favour an Englishman,' may have been the expression of a wide-spread feeling, as likewise his belief that 'much of their (i.e., the Scots), lyving standeth by stelyng and robbying;' and both may have been as true as half-truths always are. But such as the rigmarole of Skelton must not be considered as a fair statement of English sentiment. He had the misfortune to be wondrously foul-mouthed, for even the Cardinal did not escape his bitter jeers. Sir David Lyndsay, on the other hand, though strongly patriotic, has not given us a companion piece to Skelton's *Albany and the Scottes*. He laments his country's miseries and controls his jibes. To Dame Remembrance in the *Dreme* he says:—

'Quhat is the cause, that wald I understand
That we sulde want Justice and Polycie
More than dois France, Italie, or England?
Madame, quod I, schaw me the veritie.' †

To him who reads lightly, there may seem few meritorious deeds or intentions in this confused mass of intrigue—England aiming at the overthrow of her rival, Scotland rent by faction, Dacre acting the devil, Angus the traitor. Again, the rapid transitions and the changes in policy may impress him,—Wolsey in the end planning a flight into Scotland, ‡ Betoun in alliance with England, Albany surrendering in the hour of victory, Dacre fighting Henry in the Pilgrimage of Grace, Margaret now English, now French, one party-revolution following another in quick succession, § war no sooner declared than emissaries treating for an accommodation. Nevertheless the period is not wholly given up to shame. The alliance of

* Andrew Borde (Andreas Perforatus) in his *First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, 1542. Cf. also memorial intended to influence opinion in Germany, quoted in Friedman's *Ann Boleyn* (II. 86).

† *The Dreme*, ll. 869-872.

‡ Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory (*Venet. State Papers*) p. 270. Dec. 14, 1530.

§ Cf. Machiavelli *Il Principe*, c. 2. 'Sempra una mutazione lascia lo addentellato per la edificazione dell'altra.'

Scotland with France was not entirely the result of expediency or of partisan feeling, such as guided the actions of the rebellious nobles of the Marches. When the defeat at the battle of Pavia was announced in Scotland, the sympathy for the old ally reawakened with greater energy, and the growing influence of England at the Court, received a disastrous check. It was this spirit which dictated some of the best verses of Lyndsay, for example the apostrophe at the conclusion of his poem on the Death of Queen Magdalen.

‘ Thocht thou hes slane the hevinly Flour of France,
 Quhilk impit was in to the Thrissil kene,
 Quhairin all Scotland saw thair hail plesance
 And maid the Lyon rejoyisit frome the splene :
 Thocht rute be pullit frome the levis grene,
 The smell of it sall, in despyte of thee,
 Keip ay twa Realmes in peace and amitie.’

Though most of the patriotic tendencies in Scotland were connected with this alliance, there was yet a sturdy independence and honest dislike of the intervention of foreigners. Scotland refused to hand over Betoun to Wolsey for treasonable acts (if so they could be called) against the royal authority, and the Lords resented the advice which told them ‘ that they should be obliged to treat honourably the king’s highness their sovereign.’ But in like manner they held as nought the advice of Henry and of Francis too, that Albany should be prevented from returning to Scotland. With the Estates alone, they said, should the decision rest ; and this regard for the constitutional order was backed up by the vast armies of Albany, which he levied with little difficulty.*

When we remember these facts, we have less difficulty in understanding the seemingly strange conduct of Archbishop Betoun. That he was shrewd and subtle, as his contemporaries asserted, we need not doubt. The best testimonial to his ability is the anxiety which he caused his greater and abler

* There were few men of the type of the ‘ Redshanke,’ John Elder. See *A Proposal for uniting Scotland and England, etc.*, [1542]. *B. m. Miscell.* I., p. 1.

rival, who made almost every question of Scottish politics a problem how to circumvent or gain over the Chancellor. Little has been written about Betoun, but whether through ignorance, diffidence, or more probably ecclesiastical rancour, less has been said about his patriotism. It was really the guiding principle of his political actions, and of the exercise of his negative craft, prompting him at one time to thwart English designs, at another time to look less favourably on the claims of the French Court. He would not support Angus; neither would he countenance the Queen, when he imagined her pretensions were dangerous to the interests of her young son. When with five others he sent a letter* to King Henry, it was because the Queen threatened to render void their good endeavours on behalf of their Sovereign. He changed his attitude, because parties had changed their front. Had he been a subtle self-seeker, he would not have been so foolhardy as to leave his castle and risk his liberty in a noble but useless opposition in Parliament to the designs of the English partisans. Hence his endeavour to shield the young James from the fierce winds of party hate, was set down by his enemies as an attempt to lull the King into a luxurious carelessness of State affairs.

'My lord of St. Andrews,' writes Magnus to Wolsey, 'hath bene gretefully charged sathene Cristenmas with keping a grete house and contynually useth the same: in my oppynoun to his payne, by occasion of coste. His Lordeship saith to me, he hath enterteyned and intendeth to enterteyne the Lordes in suche a soorte as shalbe for the weall of the yong king his maister, and of this his realme; and as shalbe to the pleasure of the Kinges Highnes and of your Grace.'†

When in 1536 he made a passionate appeal to James to sustain the religion of his fathers against the new doctrines from England, he may have been actuated, as his opponents have hinted, by the fear of losing hold of things temporal. If it was sentiment or regard for the old order and faith, then it was a pardonable 'failing'; but if it was a determination to resist what

* Bishop of Aberdeen, Prior of St. Andrews, Earls of Angus, Argyle, Lennox. Jan. 26th, 1525. *S. P. (Scot.)*, pp. 312-4.

† *Ibid.*, p. 337, 9th March, 1525.

Ranke shows was a great *political* move on the part of Henry, then his conduct was not so very absurd or so very extreme. As a Catholic prelate he would oppose it, and it is not likely that when it assumed such a highly political colouring, he was of a sudden to forget the life-long policy which he had elaborated. He was of a gentler nature than his unfortunate nephew the Cardinal; and a worthy successor of his in the see of St. Andrews has deemed it his misfortune to have lived in a time when men were put to death by his authority, 'for his natural temper was not violently set.'* That same writer's further remark, that 'he was not much solicitous how matters went in the Church,' if it has any historical importance, will go to support that estimate, which makes his conduct political, rather than ecclesiastical. At any rate it must be admitted—and that without the danger of falling into the modern fallacy of manufacturing heroes out of moonshine—that much of the nobility and patriotism of those actions which were most disinterested in this period of selfishness and intrigue, will be associated with the name of the old Scottish Chancellor. He had at once the best opportunity for selfish action, and the best opportunity to show himself a patriot. The subtle aggression of Wolsey placed him in an attitude of subtle defence; and it must redound to his credit that in a country torn asunder by a factious nobility, he strove to the end to sustain the authority of the Crown, and to unite by a common bond those popular elements on which alone the nation could found its greatness.

G. GREGORY SMITH.

* Keith's *Affairs of Church and State in Scotland* (Spottiswoode Society), I., p. 19.

ART. VI.—THE THREE EVILS OF DESTINY.

THIS is the general term given by an inhabitant of the Greek islands to express the three important events of life—birth, marriage, and death; and in considering the folklore concerning these points, we shall see how amongst these remote islands have survived the superstitions of antiquity. Three old women who live up in the mountains, who are always spinning, whose decree is unalterable except on rare occasions, are supposed to preside over these three events; they are called as of old the *Moirai*, or Fates, and a discontented Greek, when cursing his ill luck, will tell you how he considers it a misfortune to have been born, a greater one to have been married, and the greatest of all to have to die. We will first discuss the least of the three evils, and collect from various islands the superstitions and customs which relate to the appearance into this world of a modern Greek.

I. BIRTH.

The myths and superstitions which surround childhood in the Greek islands centre themselves around four different epochs—the actual birth, the fate telling on the seventh day, the christening, and the early years of life. An expectant mother is grievously beset by superstitions, she may not go to the well for fear of meeting one of those ‘nymphs of the well water, daughters of Zeus,’ which are supposed still to haunt the streams, and whose glamour would be fatal to the well-being both of her and her child. She may not go to the oven to bake her bread on Saturday for the same reason, nor may she on St. Simeon’s day wash her pots and pans or cook anything in her house, or some evil will be sure to befall the child. To insure male offspring she must sleep with a sprig of a certain herb called ‘male flower’ over her bed, for the birth of a daughter is looked upon as a distinct calamity in a modern Greek family. When the time for her delivery draws nigh, the old hag who acts as physician and nurse in the smaller villages, will become excessively domineering, horrible concoctions will be brewed for her victim, a sprig of

olive, called the 'Madonna's hand' from the fact that it must have five branches coming out of one, is put into her hand, she is told to say her prayers to St. Eleutherios, who has taken the place of the goddess Eileithyia alike both in name and attributes; the doors and windows are closely shut in order to exclude all evil spirits or people who may possess the evil eye, and the greatest care is always taken to prevent an enemy from knowing that the event is imminent, lest he should have an ill omened thought at the critical moment.

The priest is the first person admitted. Even should the father reach home from a voyage or distant journey after the doors are closed, he will be told to seek shelter elsewhere, and not until the priest has blessed the child and gone through the Liturgy to the Highest are the doors opened. If the parents are rich, and if the child is a male, the priest gets a handsome present on this occasion; but if it is a girl, or the parents are poor, he is satisfied with a loaf of bread. If a son is born, the father fires off his gun in its honour; if it is a girl, the event is passed over in silence.

Until the christening, the baby goes by the name of Iron or Dragon to ensure strength, and the tiny speck of humanity is immediately swaddled in a handsome piece of embroidery prepared for the purpose, and on the third day the friends and relatives are summoned to the public washing, when the priest is again in attendance to read his blessing. Tables are spread with sweets and glasses of *raki* for the edification of the guests, and all who come in wish the mother a good forty days,—for still as in the days of Censorinus, 'before forty days the mother does not proceed to the temple.' On the central table is a bowl with warm water in it, and the relatives cast therein a little salt and sugar before the nurse proceeds with her ablutions; when she has finished these, she says her *Kyrie Eleison* forty times by way of a prayer of thankfulness, and into the water for her especial benefit each relative is expected to cast a coin. A sober man and a handsome woman are next required to embrace the re-swaddled infant, to the intent that sobriety and good looks may be secured for it, and before the guests depart, two so-called 'well-footed men,' that is to say, fortunate men, are secured to stand as sponsors at the coming

christening. 'Bad-footed' men have this distinct piece of good fortune in Greece that they are never pestered with requests to stand as godfathers or to act as best men, both of which honours imply considerable expenditure and trouble; a good godfather has to remember his godchildren at Easter, on their birthdays, and on their Saints' days; and if the parents die, a godchild has more claim on his godfather than on the next of kin.

To see the Fate-telling ceremony aright it is necessary to go to some of the remotest villages of the remotest islands. In civilized Greek places it is possible to see the fate-telling tray, that is to say, a year after birth a tray is handed to the child with things on it, such as a coin, a pen, an apple, and an egg. If the child touches the coin he will be rich; if the pen, a writer; and if the egg, nothing at all. But this is only a faint reflex of the fate-telling, which exists still as it did in St. Chrysostom's day, and against which he wrote; and as it did in the days of Apollodorus, who tells us that seven days after the birth of Meleager, the Fates told the horoscope of the child, and the fire was lighted on the hearth. Seven days after the birth (from which the ceremony gains the name of *ἐφρα*) the relatives, friends, godparents, and nurse assemble to assist at the Fate-telling. A large bowl is placed in the centre of the room, in the bowl are placed clothes,—if the child is a male, the father's, if a female, the mother's,—and on the top of the clothes is placed the child itself. Around the pile seven candles are placed of equal length, and when all are seated the nurse comes forward to light them, and names each candle after a Saint as she does so. Then all is silence for a long space of time, those assembled being supposed during this time to pray for the future of the infant. The priest is of course there, and he has blessed the candles,—the saint whose candle first goes out is to be the patron saint of the child. This choosing of the patron saint is a curious survival, for it is this very thing that St. Chrysostom inveighs against, and is doubtless a survival of the pagan custom which was in vogue many centuries before. When this is over, the baby is again swaddled, and as this is done one godfather says, 'You have crossed the river,' and the other replies, 'Therefore be not afraid;' and when the guests have eaten a sufficiency of the delicacies provided, they take their departure,

wishing, as they leave, some good fortune to the infant, who is now provided with a patron saint, as intercessor between it and its God. In the evening the nurse has her own ceremony. She makes what is called a meal for the Fates, in the same bowl in which the baby has been laid; honey, butter and meal form the chief ingredients in this mysterious repast, which is left for the Fates to eat at midnight, and reminds one forcibly of the meal laid out in antient Athens for the appeasing of the Eumenides. 'Come Fate of Fates,' she says, the last thing at night; 'come to bless this child; may he have ships, and mules, and diamonds; may he become a prince;' and in the good humour consequent on so sumptuous a repast, the Fates are supposed to be kindly disposed towards the infant, whose destiny is then fixed once and for ever.

The christening ceremony is of course entirely religious, but it is curious, and in remote villages forms an interesting spectacle. It usually takes place on the eighth day after birth, the day after the Fate-telling. The nurse has possession of the child, and the relatives and god-parents assemble in the church. The font is placed in the middle of the nave, generally a large goblet-shaped one of lead; jugs of hot and cold water are brought in, and the priest, as he proceeds with the service, mingles them in the font, until he thinks the temperature suitable enough for the immersion of the infant. The nurse meanwhile, is busily engaged in removing the swaddling clothes, whilst the priest reads the service and blows on to the water in the form of a cross, and signs the cross several times over the child and his nurse. The sponsors are on either side of the font; and before immersion oil is poured three times into the water in the form of a cross. Then the tiny object, divested entirely of clothing, is handed to the priest by the god-mother; he holds it up with both hands for public inspection, and then oils it with sacred oil in various parts before plunging it three times over head and ears in the font. This ceremony over, the god-mother receives her charge into three white cloths, with which to dry him, and after the priest has blessed a tiny shirt and cap, they are put on the poor little shivering body. The nurse then seizes her charge, swaddles him up tightly once more,

and as she kisses him, she calls him her little Demetrios, which name the infant has received in place of Iron or Dragon.

Demetrios is by no means finished with yet, for his little swaddled body is held upright, his cap is again taken off, and the priest cuts off four locks of hair if he can find them, saying, 'One for the Father, one for the Son, one for the Holy Ghost, and one for Eternity,' as he mixes candle wax with the hair and burns it. A cloak and hat, which the priest has blessed, are next put on to the swaddled infant, and the god-mother takes her charge and carries him three times round the font, bowing as she does so to the priest, who waves incense at her from his censer. The priest takes Demetrios once more from his god-mother, and places his lips against all the sacred pictures on the screen before the high altar, lays him on a bench alone, as if to give him time to meditate on what has happened, and then takes him into the Holy of Holies behind the screen, after which Demetrios is considered as a properly enrolled member of the Orthodox Church.

After the christening all go in procession to the mother's house, where she awaits the return from church, and the ceremony of 'giving up,' *παράδοσις*, is gone through. She has a ploughshare in her hand, in which are some embers from the fire. This she waves before the approaching guests after the fashion of a censer, and it is called the incense of the ploughshare, which is supposed to secure for the infant success in agriculture and strength commensurate with the material of which the share is made. A godfather carries the child and goes straight up to the mother and puts it into her arms, saying as he does so, 'I deliver up to you the child baptised, incensed, anointed, and made a Christian, that you may protect it carefully from fire, precipices, and all evil; that you may deliver it again to us at the Second Coming, spotless and undefiled.' The mother has honey cakes covered with sesame seeds and other sweets spread on a table, and lots of glasses of *raki* with which to regale her guests.

'The forty days' ceremony is curious too. The mother is then received again into the Church and into the houses of her neighbours, for until the forty days have elapsed it is considered improper for a mother to pay any visits. The mother and child go to church with a jug of water, and after the service is over and

the water blessed, they visit their neighbours, and the mother sprinkles each house she visits with water out of the jug, saying as she does so, 'That your jugs may not break.' As she crosses the threshold it is expected of her to put the handle of the door key into her mouth to secure the plates from breaking, and to make them 'as strong as the iron of the key,' as the expression goes.

The early years of childhood are surrounded by numerous superstitious observances. Amulets to ward off the evil eye, to preserve the little dears from stomach aches and fevers, are hung round their necks; red strings in March, which are afterwards burnt with the Easter lamb, are considered most efficacious in keeping off infection. But nothing recalls antiquity so much as the devices an anxious mother is put to to ward off the fell influence of those uncanny spirits, the Nereids and the Lamiae, which are supposed to take special delight in sucking the blood of infants. In Keos, St. Artemidos is patron of such weaklings, and to his church up on the hill slope a mother takes her child afflicted by a mysterious wasting. She strips off its clothes and puts on new ones blessed by the priest, leaving the old ones as a perquisite to the church. She passes the naked infant through a hole, and then, if it recovers, she will thank St. Artemidos for the blessing vouchsafed, unaware that by so doing she is perpetuating the worship of Artemis, which in olden days on this very island was most popular—Artemis the nourisher of children, *παιδοτρόφος*. On this same island they have another remedy for a sickly boy. The parents take it into the country, where the father selects a young oak. This he splits up, and with the assistance of another man holds it open while the mother passes her infant through it three times. Then they bind up the tree again, cover it with manure, and water it for forty days. In the same fashion they bind up the child for a like period, and after the lapse of this time they expect it will be well.

But the most barbarous custom of this sort is in vogue on the island of Melos, where a mother loves to take an emaciated child to a tiny church, strip it naked, and leave it on the cold marble altar for a season. To effect a radical cure the child should remain there all night, but the mother is afraid of detection, for

the Government are trying to put this custom down. If the babe survive this treatment, there is not much the matter with it; but if, on the contrary, as often happens, the poor little creature dies, the parents are content to think that all has been done for the child that could be, and that God has willed that it should be a victim to the Nereids, the evil spirits, which, with curious blending of Christianity and Paganism, they think he uses to punish mankind.

II. MARRIAGE.

Perhaps the most palpable cause for a modern Greek classifying marriage under the head of evils of destiny, is the way in which marriages amongst them are for the most part brought about. There is no such thing as romance to be found in the Greek islands, and if there is, it is rapidly nipped in the bud; we certainly do find young women, on the eve of St. John the Baptist, using a divination peculiarly their own for the discovery of their future husband. Around a vase of water drawn without speaking, and since called 'the speechless water,' they say divers incantations. Into it they cast trinkets and so forth, which are drawn out at haphazard by a child as songs are sung, and she whose trinket comes out deciphers from the words at that moment sung the meaning of the oracle, truly Delphic in its character. They eat salt cakes of most indigestible material that night to ensure their dreaming a dream in which their future husband will figure, and these divinations are called the *akleidones*. The parents or next-of-kin usually arrange marriages for those whom they think fit to enter that estate, and in some islands there are certain old women whose duty it is to carry the proposal and bring back the answer, which old women correspond to the *προνηγορίαι* of antiquity (Pollux., iii. 31). These old women know many love potions which they administer for money, one of which says that a love-sick girl, if she wishes to win the object of her affections, must get the milk of forty mothers, and of forty of their married daughters; these she must mix, and, if she can succeed in getting her young man, by stealth or otherwise, so much as to taste a drop of the mixture, he will be hers for life.

When the old woman goes to propose she must wear stockings

of different colours. 'She has on stockings of two colours,' says a modern Greek rhyme, 'methinks we shall have an offer.' If the proposal is refused, the young man is said 'to eat gruel.' The cause of the frequency of these marriages *de convenance* is to be found in the peculiar law of inheritance still in vogue in some of the remoter islands. The eldest daughter inherits everything to the exclusion of her brothers and younger sisters, even her mother's embroidered garments and the slab on which she says her prayers in church. In other parts of Greece no girl can ever hope to find a husband until she has a house of her own; hence providing his daughters with houses is an onerous duty which falls to the lot of every paterfamilias, and this system results in leaving a very large portion of the female population to pass their days in single blessedness; and where the above-mentioned matriarchal system is still in vogue the parents always aspire to obtain for their eldest daughter a good match, and the proposals always come from the lady's family.

Marriages are almost invariably celebrated on the Sundays immediately preceding the great Lenten fast. This is a distinct survival of the ancient custom of marrying during the first month of the year, from which fact that month was formerly called Gamelion; and in the islands where the men are often absent during the summer months in search of work abroad, the betrothals usually take place shortly before Christmas, with a view to the marriage being solemnised on one of the Sundays of the great marriage month. On the remote island of Telos, which is inhabited by semi-barbarous Greeks, they retain the most extraordinary and elaborate system of wedding festivities, which continue for the space of a fortnight, during which time the village enjoys one long holiday and cessation from work.

The first ceremony takes place ten days before the crowning, with what they call the 'little flour,' when each household brings a handful of meal to the bride as an earnest that more will come presently, and as an intimation that all know about the wedding, and are prepared to share in the coming festivities. On this day and on every day before the wedding, the female friends of the bride assemble to assist in preparing the trousseau. Two days afterwards the 'greater flour' takes place, when large quantities

of grain are brought by all the friends for the wedding-cakes. This is distributed by the young men to all the houses which possess a grindstone, to be ground, and late in the evening, accompanied by the sound of bagpipe and lyre, they go round to each house to collect it, and deposit it in that of the bride, where a table is spread, and great festivity and dancing ensue.

The Sunday immediately preceding the wedding is called the 'macaroni day,' when the female friends go each to the house of the bride with their low wooden tray to assist in making this commodity. But on the Wednesday before the wedding the festivities begin with real earnest. The young men go on this day to the mountains for brushwood to heat the oven for baking the wedding-cakes, and are accompanied for part of the way by all the villagers, and are met in the evening on their return with music, and the night is spent in dancing and revelry. Next day the same ceremony is gone through with regard to providing fish for the wedding banquets; all day the young men cast their nets into the sea, and again pass the evening in festivities. On Friday they go to the mountain farms for the kids and lambs necessary for supplying the table, and thus the preparations are concluded.

On Saturday the bridegroom moves to the house his bride is bringing to him as her dower; he is accompanied by his young male friends to the sound of the lyre and song; his bride is there to greet him, and both of them have brought their luggage. Then follows a very curious ceremony, when the stone walls are hung with embroidery, and the clothes of the happy couple are suspended one by one from a pole which has been hung for that purpose just over the door; first a pair of trousers is hung up, and then a dress, and as each garment is suspended a song appropriate to each is sung by the young men and maidens who have assembled. When all are hung up the priest blesses them, and then the nuptial couch is decorated, a sort of tent being formed over it with an old piece of embroidery, called a *sperberi*, which is handed down in families until quite worn out. This *sperberi* is commonly known as 'the heaven,' and is most elaborately blessed by the priest on each occasion that it is called into use.

When all this ceremony is over the marriage contract is signed; the most worthy men of the village are called in to append their

signatures to it; congratulations follow, and then a little dancing, but the party breaks up much earlier than usual on this evening, and the bridegroom is left in sole possession of his new house; the key is turned by the best man in the door, and he is left thus to meditate over the second evil of destiny which the Fates have ordained for him.

The ceremony of crowning, which takes place all over Greece on a Sunday, is of course attended by high festivity. The father of the bride and the priest go alone to the vineyard to fetch the two vine tendrils with which to make the two wedding crowns. The guests assemble in the bride's old home; and when the sound of a gun being let off, and the strains of bagpipe and lyre are heard, all know that the bridegroom is approaching. In some places in Imbros, more especially, the bride's bath (the old *νυμφικὸν λουτρόν*) and her subsequent decoration form a very important part in the ceremony, and then she is expected to go and wash her father-in-law's hands as a symbol of the respect she is prepared to pay him. In Santorin a bridesmaid meets the bridegroom on the threshold with a saucerful of honey, into which he dips his fingers and makes three crosses with it on the door, one on the lintel, and one on each post. After this he eats a mouthful of honey, which the bridesmaid puts into his mouth with a spoon, wipes his fingers on a towel, and retires to the side of his bride. In Eubæa they still go through the ancient farce of the bridegroom pretending to snatch his bride by force from the care of her parents, but this is now only an excuse for a little amusing bye play. Then the bridesmaids proceed to make the two wedding crowns, two on either side of a table in the middle of the room, and as they twine together the pink and blue ribbons on the tendrils, they sing good wishes to the young pair. 'May holy Procopius be with you to-day. May holy Polycarp grant you many teeth in your house,' and so on.

When the crowns are finished they are put into a basket and carried by the priest who heads the gay procession to the church. The altar of Hymen is always placed, like the font at baptisms, in the middle of the nave, and around this the wedding parties gather. Preparatory to reading the gospels and the usual in-

junctions, the priest binds the young couple's wrists with a belt. He then hands them candles to hold, and as they take them they kiss his hand. After this comes the ring ceremony, both bride and bridegroom being signed three times with the sign of the cross with the rings before the priest puts them on their fingers. The best man then changes the rings from one to the other, as an earnest that each is bound by the vows of the other, and then the chief bridesmaid changes them back. Before the crowns are produced from the basket another gospel is read, and before they are put on the heads of the bride and bridegroom they are signed with the sign of the cross three times with them, and as was done with the rings, they are changed from one head to the other. Finally, the sacramental wine is administered, three sips each to the young couple, and one sip each to their attendants; and then the newly made man and wife, the bridesmaids, the bridegrooms, attendants, and the priests who have officiated, join hands and literally dance round the altar, which is an obvious continuance of the old custom called *amphidromia*, when similar antics were performed around the altar of heathen deities. This is the time for pelting the wedding party with showers of sweetmeats—the old *καταχύματα* with which in ancient Greece brides and bridegrooms were pelted in the streets as a symbol of plenty and fecundity. Now they do it in church, where the priests come in for a good share of these comfits, and great hilarity prevails.

Before leaving the church the bride and bridegroom, each with their crown on, stand in front of the altar, and every one who has been present at the ceremony is expected to pass in front of them and administer to each a kiss. Then the crowns are removed from their heads and carried home in a basket to be kept as objects of the greatest veneration amongst the pictures of the Saints and other household gods before which the ever-burn-ing light is suspended. These wedding crowns are frequently buried with their wearers when their time comes to participate in the third evil prepared for them by destiny.

In different islands they have many and various ceremonies attending the home-coming of the bride after the knot has been tied in church. In Karpathos the bridegroom's mother meets them, as after a christening, with the incense of the share as

described above. In Imbros the bride must not tread on the threshold, but must be lifted over it by her husband and the best man: it would mean a most disastrous future for the young pair if such a calamity happened as touching the threshold, even with the hem of her raiment. And in other places actually the classical custom, which compelled the bride and bridegroom to eat a quince together on returning to their new home as man and wife, is still maintained.

The remainder of the wedding day is devoted to singing and dancing, the dances being for the most part the curious circular dance which Homer has so admirably described in the 18th Iliad, a light wavy dance which they perform with astonishing lightness, such as they imagine the Nereids which haunt the streams to be for ever indulging in, and such as we see depicted on many of the ancient vases which adorn our museums. Conspicuous amongst the delicacies at a wedding feast are the cakes covered with sesame seed, the same probably that Aristotle alludes to, as symbolical of fruitfulness. Some of the songs which they sing on these occasions have doubtless been handed down from generation to generation, being replete with touches of a remote antiquity. But the *epithalamium* of ancient days now takes place on the following morning, when young men and maidens, accompanied by lyre and bagpipe, assemble outside the door of the young couple, and sing merry songs, exhorting them to come out and join in the festivities, which have by no means come to an end.

At Telos, where they have such very prolonged festivities, the Monday after the crowning is jocularly called the bridesmaid's wedding day, and is consumed in singing and dancing. If the day is fine the party repair to the bride's threshing-floor—for of course every bride counts a threshing-floor among her other belongings—where they eat, and sing, and dance as only sturdy island Greeks can dance, without ever thinking it necessary to take any rest.

The following day is the 'cook's day,' that is to say, in honour of those who have assisted in preparing the victuals for the wedding festivities, when the entertainment is usually given at the threshing-floor of some near relative of the bride's; and as

it is the last of the series of entertainments, it is kept up until a late hour in the evening.

And yet there is one more festive gathering before the whole of the wedding festivities are over. This takes place on the fortieth day after the crowning, when the priests come to bless the embroidered garments as they are taken down from the walls and the pole over the door. It is considered highly essential to have this ceremony performed, and many cases are on record of misfortune having ensued from its omission. Then the *sperberi* is taken down from off the nuptial couch, and packed away till the wedding of the bride's daughter. They sing once more and dance once more, and then the bride and bridegroom sink altogether into insignificance.

III. DEATH.

When a death is expected the attendant mourners in the Greek islands have many little customs peculiar to themselves: the moribund is handed a bowl of water, into which he puts a pinch of salt for each person with whom he is at enmity, saying as he does so, 'May my wrath perish as this salt;' for it is considered dreadful for a man to die leaving an enemy behind him. His spirit, it is believed, will not rest, but will wander about as a poor ghost, sucking the blood of his friends, like the shades in antient Hades, to gain strength for his earthly wanderings. If the complaint is consumption, they suppose that three Erinnyes stand ready to pounce on children at the corners of the room; hence the young are kept out of the way when the dying is *in extremis*, and a hole is opened over his head to allow the Erinnyes to escape. Fevers are best cured by priestly incantations: the name of the disease is written on a slip of paper, and with prayer and much incensing this is bound to a tree, hoping thereby to transfer the malady. Incense is much used by the priest in his visitations to the sick; the whole room is thick with it, and perhaps contagion is thus often avoided.

When the death has occurred the women rush on to the flat roof or some other conspicuous place, where they rend the air with their cries, tear their hair, and give way to unbridled grief. The town crier is sent round to announce the fact to the neigh-

hours, and to summon friends to the death-wail, which takes place an hour or two after the spirit has left the body. After the body has been washed in wine, it is laid out on a bier in the centre of the one-roomed house, arrayed in the deceased's best clothes, decked out with flowers, and with lamps burning at the side, reminding us of the antient custom of placing the corpse thus in the midst of the hall, dressed in as handsome a robe as the family could afford, in order, according to Lucian, that the dead may not be cold on the passage to Hades, and may not be seen naked by Cerberus. Then begins the death-wail ceremony—a scene of heart-rending grief such as took place in Priam's palace over the dead body of Hector. The hired women who perform at these death-wails are lineal descendants of the Carian women of antient Greece, of the *præficeæ* of antient Rome, who still survive in the island of Sardinia, under the name of *prefiche*. The family sit groaning around the corpse awaiting her arrival, and as she enters she stands at the door with tragic effect, as if transfixed by grief at what she sees, and in the language of hyperbole, in which these women love to indulge, she will apostrophise the sun, wondering how the heavenly luminary can endure to shine on a scene of grief like the one before her. This is the signal for the commencement of unearthly yells and unconnected praises of the deceased from the members of the family assembled; and when the hub-bub has somewhat subsided, the *mærologista*, as they now term the hired mourner, advances to the foot of the bier, and commences her wail with dishevelled hair and distraught appearance:—

' I yearn to mourn for the dead one
 Whose name I dare not say,
 For as soon as I speak of the lost one
 My voice and my heart give way.
 Who hath seen the sun at midnight?
 Who hath seen a mid-day star?
 Who hath seen a bride without a crown
 Go forth from her father's door?
 Who hath seen the dead returning,
 Be he king or warrior brave?
 They are planted in Charon's vineyard,
 There is no return from the grave.'

After another pause in the lamentations excited by this address, the widow, the mother, or other female relatives, standing with the head of the deceased in their hands, will, like Hecuba, Andromache, or Helen, sing their own special wail over the departed, and when exhausted by the effort of lamentation they will all repair to a side table where the so called 'bitter table,' the old *νεκρὸδειπνον* is spread, and gain strength for the renewal of their woe by imbibing *raki* and eating figs, biscuits, and other small refectations, which are always provided on such occasions. This prolonged agony of mourning generally continues for two long hours, messages are sent to those who have gone before by him who has now entered on the last journey to Hades, and the arrival of the priests with their acolytes bearing the cross and the lanterns to convey the corpse to its resting place, is accepted as the signal for a pause.

From these death wails we learn how much that is heathen is incorporated in the belief of to-day respecting an after life. They sing of Hades as a frozen, miserable place, where the dead wander for ever, anxious to return to the upper air, and endeavouring to steal from Charon, the lord of the lower earth, his keys, but ineffectually. Charon plants the bones of the departed in his garden, and they come up as weird plants. His tent pegs are heroes' bones, and the ropes are made of maidens' tresses. He rides on a horse to collect his victims, driving the young and strong before him, dragging the aged after him by ropes, and carrying with him on his saddle the little children. The young and strong often struggle with him as Hercules struggled with Hades. The old simile of wedding death is often now reproduced in their songs, 'The black earth for his wife he wed, the tombstone was his wife's mother, and the worms were the relatives of his bride.' Charon is distinctly the death of bygone ages, not the death as personified by Christianity. Charon has a wife Charontissa, who is the modern representative of Persephone. He has sons, and one death wail represents Charon as 'making merry now, he is keeping his son's wedding, he is slaying boys for lambs, and brides for kids he is slaughtering.'

These death wails are, in fact, one of the most striking bonds of connection between the Hellenism of the past and the

Hellenism of the present ; and in the Greek islands, despite the strictness of the more civilized members of the Orthodox Church, they cling to them with surprising tenacity. A body which dies unlamented cannot enter Hades, and wanders about like that of Patroclus and Elpenor in misery in the upper air, neither belonging to the living nor to the dead. Consequently, the death wails and the burials take place as soon as possible after death, that the gates of Hades may be opened to them as soon as may be. The tenacity with which the islanders cling to their death wails is illustrated by the following story of a Mykoniote merchant who had settled in Marseilles, and made money there. On his death-bed he implored his wife to sing a death wail over his body, but she pleaded that owing to long absence from home she had forgotten how. 'Go to my desk,' he said, 'take out my ledger, read all that I have earned, and sing that.'

Solon in his day, St. Chrysostom in his, and the modern bishops in theirs, have all in their turn tried to put down the extraordinary grief of women on the occasion of a death. 'O women, what do you do?' wrote St. Chrysostom ; 'you destroy your dresses, you tear your hair, you utter great cries, you dance, you imitate the Mœnads, and you do not think that you are offending God. What extravagance.' Bishop Lycurgus of Syra, whose great object in life was the union of the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches, used all his influence to check this custom, but in vain. The love of a death wail is such, that when a person dies from home, they spread out his clothes in the middle of the room and go through all the forms of lamentation, with even greater vehemence than when the corpse lies in their midst.

In remote villages the wax cross which bears the initials I. X. N. (Ιησους Χριστος νικη), and which the priest puts on the lips of the deceased, is still called the *ναυλον*, or freight-money, thereby demonstrating its pedigree from the coin which was anciently placed on the lips to pay for the ferry across the Styx. Sometimes when a man dies who has been conspicuous for his good fortune during life, they will cut off his nails before the corpse is removed, and tie them up in a bag to be preserved amongst

the other sacred things which are hung up in the sanctuary belonging to every house.

Before the corpse leaves the house a vase of water is broken on the threshold. When anyone starts on a journey, it is customary to spill water as an earnest of his success and safe return, and when the body goes on its last long journey the vase also is broken. The bier is carried by four male bearers, and about a bier the Greek islanders have this most gruesome riddle,—what is that which he who makes does so to sell, he who buys does not use himself, and he who uses does not see? As the funeral procession passes through the village street the priests chant the Offices of the Dead, and from time to time the mourners, who go in front, break forth into their hideous wails, and women come forth from their houses to groan in consort with the others. Of a truth a Greek island funeral is a painful sight to witness. On reaching the church the corpse is left in the porch, and whilst the liturgy is proceeding the mourners cease to wail. Then comes the very impressive *stichera* of the last kiss, which is chanted by all the congregation, and begins, 'Blessed is the way thou shalt go to-day,' whereat each mourner advances and gives the last kiss to the cold face of the corpse, and once more the extravagant demonstrations of grief break forth. Finally the corpse is lowered without a coffin into its shallow grave, and each bystander casts on to it a handful of soil. There is a prejudice against coffins, for they say the flesh cannot properly decay; and it is the custom to exhume the bones after a year has elapsed, when, if any flesh remains on them, they think it is a proof that the spirit has not gone to rest. This ceremony of exhuming the bones is a very painful one. They are washed carefully, and in some places tied up in a bag and consigned to a charnel house, and often these charnel houses fall into ruins, and hideous sights of skulls and bones are exhibited to the gaze of surviving relatives.

The house of mourning is thoroughly cleansed and washed after a death. The deceased's bed and pillow are left as they were for three days, with a lamp burning, for it is believed that during that time the spirit loves to hover around its old haunts, and would be hurt to find alterations made. Also it is deemed

unlucky to cook in a house where a death has occurred, consequently the neighbours always come in with cooked provisions for the benefit of the inmates, who have sufficient occupation during the succeeding days in visiting the tomb and continuing their heart-rending wails. Boiled wheat, ornamented with sugar plums, and called the *κόλλυβα*, are presented as an offering to the dead on successive days after death. Sometimes these are called 'blessed cakes,' out of euphony no doubt. On the third day the friends and relations reassemble, again being summoned by the town crier; fresh death-wails are sung, and more boiled wheat is presented as an offering to the dead, which is finally distributed to the poor, who always congregate near a churchyard for what they can get when a funeral has taken place. This same ceremony is likewise gone through on the ninth and fortieth days after death, much as the feasts were performed on similarly stated days amongst the antient Greeks, called *τρίτα* and *ἑννὰτα*, from the days on which the feast took place.

The boiled wheat or *κόλλυβα* forms a part of the ceremony on the Greek All Soul's Day, and is, as the Church teaches, symbolical of being sown in corruption and raised in incorruption; but if you ask a Greek peasant why he takes with him his present of boiled wheat to church on that particular day, he will say it is in honour of the dead, that the dead may eat thereof and think kindly of the living. If a household were to neglect to take this offering to church, they would fear a visitation from their deceased friends to claim the proper attention. In some places on the Saturday after the death, when the bread-baking takes place, warm bread with cheese or oil is distributed to poor women at the ovens, in memory of the departed, and if the death has occurred during Lent, at Eastertide the flesh of lambs and skins of ewes are given away in charity by wealthy mourners.

Families of the better class have their own tombs, where the bones of one deceased member are left until it is necessary for them to make way for the incoming tenant. In the island of Karpathos they put plates into the tombs; why, no one seemed to know. But it is an obvious continuation of the antient custom, for in some old tombs we excavated close to the spot, we found as many as sixteen plates laid out with the remnants of a

feast for the dead, which had been there untouched for perhaps two thousand years. They never put a tombstone or name over the grave. It is reserved for the Armenians to perpetuate the old custom of putting on the tombstone some device by which you can tell the calling in life of the occupant. Tailors, architects, farmers, are all thus labelled, reminding one of Elpenor's request to have an oar put on his grave to testify to posterity the fact of his having been a mariner.

J. THEODORE BENT.

ART. VII.—ADAM SMITH AND HIS FOREIGN CRITICS.

ON the 19th of May, 1885, a circular was issued by the Secretary of the *Société d'Economie Politique* in Paris, to announce the completion of a medal, struck to commemorate the centenary of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and Turgot's *Edits*. The length of time which was allowed to elapse between the passing of resolution to strike the medal in December, 1876 and its tardy execution, as well as the fact that it is being sold now at the Society's office at half the original price fixed upon, would not seem to indicate a high degree of enthusiasm for the 'Father of Competition' in France, and yet it is among contemporary French Economists that Adam Smith is held more highly in honour than perhaps by any other professors of the science abroad, whereas his authority has been most seriously impaired in Germany, where a modern school has arisen avowedly opposed to 'Smithianism,' and counting among its numbers some of the foremost Economists. It is our purpose in this paper to indicate the present influence of Adam Smith in these two countries in comparison with what it was a century ago, and the present appears to us an opportune moment for so doing. Last year was the centenary of the first commercial treaty between France and England, which was regarded at the time as the first important practical result of the publication of the *Wealth*

of *Nations* ten years previously. There are other reasons why in a Review, like this, we should devote some attention to the general results of the work accomplished 'by far the greatest of all Scottish thinkers,' as Buckle calls him, for at no time since the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* have its doctrines been subjected to more searching criticism both at home and abroad. Such criticisms are in themselves a tribute of honour; for few, indeed, are the works which are thought worthy of much discussion and discriminate examination a century after their publication. Parents have sooner or later to put up with the criticism of their own children, and the 'Father of Political Economy' is not an exception to the rule. Moreover, if there is some truth in what competent observers of the time tell us, that we are approaching a crisis in the history of middle-class ascendancy, that the world is growing a little tired of Free Trade and competition, that the principle of *laissez faire* is on its trial, and that a belief in the 'unalterable principles of human nature,' accepted by Adam Smith with other teleological views of the universe peculiar to the last Century, has ceased to satisfy the cravings of sociological inquiries of to-day—it becomes all the more necessary to reconsider Adam Smith's position in relation to the present state of Political Economy, and to examine how far it may be necessary to adapt it to modern exigencies, so as to bring it into harmony with current modes of thought.

The inquiry is interesting from another point of view. The singular grasp of mind possessed by this 'Scottish thinker of the first order,' as Professor Ingram has called him quite recently, enabled him to survey so large a field in the course of his economic studies that there are scarcely any of the leading sociological questions of the day which are not touched upon in the *Wealth of Nations*. Not only have we here a full disquisition on the comparative claims of Free-trade and Reciprocity; State regulation and unlimited competition; the importance of liberating industry, and the marvellous results of a division of labour; the sources of wealth in nature and the secret springs of human action, stimulating its production and determining distribution; but we have here, also,

sage remarks on the decay of foreign trade and the causes of commercial depression, on the advantages of colonial enterprize, and an extension of Imperial possessions from an economic point of view; we have allusions to the co-existence of progress and poverty when the 'age of industry' had scarcely commenced, and remarks on depopulation of the country districts and over-crowding of the towns; on landlordism and peasant proprietorship; on education and Church Establishment; on the just principles of taxation and local government—all subjects which at this present moment are occupying the public mind, and on which Adam Smith's views throw interesting and instructive side lights, whilst on such topics as the functions of capital, and the relationship of rent, profit, and wages, his authority, though questioned by some, cannot be ignored by any in the settlement of the long-standing controversy between capital and labour.

The age of Adam Smith, like our own, formed a transition period, it was an age of criticism and of conflict, demanding the solution of certain economic problems in connection with prevailing philosophical and theological ideas and theories. There was this difference, however, that whereas the great aim of Adam Smith and the social reformers of that day was 'the liberation of effort' from every form of State regulation and artificial trade restraints, to give fair play to the working of natural forces in accordance with the principle of *laissez faire*, the age we live in shows signs of a reaction, dissatisfied, as many of our modern critics are, by the practical results of this system, results which Adam Smith with all his sagacity could not possibly have foreseen from his standpoint at the very beginning of the great industrial revolution which has since passed over Europe.

The great success of Adam Smith in his own day consisted in having given to the world a new 'theory of business,' corresponding to the new facts. His book, in its positive aspects, was 'an inquiry into the causes of improvement in the productive powers of labour,' and was suggested by the rise of a new labouring class, and the new mechanism of industry, with the introduction of steam and machinery. In its negative aspects

the *Wealth of Nations* was a protest against the mercantile system which was then beginning to be generally discredited, and required a complete refutation, such as is contained in the fourth book of that work. In our own day the conditions are changed. Other facts demand explanation, and other fallacies have to be refuted. We have to account for the unfavourable consequences of giving the reins to private enterprise, and letting loose upon the world all the selfish propensities of the 'Economic Man;' we are called upon to solve the enigma how liberty and law may be reconciled in the world of industry, so as to afford protection to the producer of wealth without lessening the stimulus of production, and how to remove the causes of hostility between those who direct and those who are, to all intents and purposes, the blind tools in the power of production.

Now, Adam Smith has been called the Copernicus of this modern system, which in its latest developments brings us face to face with such problems. One of his most bitter opponents, the German economist Lizst, even went so far as to say that the influence of Adam Smith on the economic destinies of European nations is equal to that of Napoleon I. on the political development. If then the industrial system itself has been productive of many disappointments, it is well to know the reason why; and if Adam Smith has been made unjustly responsible for them and for ideas which are erroneously fathered upon him, it is well to point out these mistakes. This cannot be done without a careful re-examination of his leading theories. The young barrister, who, in his wrath at what he imagined to be the wrong ruling of the judge, exclaimed, 'Well, my lord, in that case I had better burn my law-books!' was told with caustic humour in return: 'Yes, sir, but you had better first read them.' In the same way many of the able critics, who, with J. S. Mill, pronounce Adam Smith's works obsolete in the present day, might take to heart a similar exhortation to read them carefully before pronouncing judgment.

What, then, is the nature of this outside criticism? In the first place we are told that Adam Smith has been until quite lately over-rated as an original thinker and that he is indebted

for his best thoughts to the French Economists. Adam Smith never regarded his own work in the light of a new revelation, but simply as the formal statement of a technical process which was patent to all eyes, whilst Adam Smith's expansive mind alone seemed able to take a complete survey of the new social phenomena combined with the power of singular lucidity, which enabled him to explain the underlying principles. Not only the Physiocrats, those 'few men of great learning and ingenuity,' as he calls them, but others, like Berkeley and Hume in this country, had attacked the errors of this mercantile system, and had exposed the absurdity of supposing that money only is wealth. But it required the comprehensive sagacity of Smith to grasp the full meaning of the changes in the mechanism of society actually then in operation, and to seize upon the requirements necessitated by their changed conditions, to collect and comment upon the facts, and to collate the arguments so as to bring about completeness of view and an 'organized body of doctrine' in the plan of fragments of thought, by a variety of eminent men, each separately treating branches of what was the social question of those times. His friend Quesnai, to whom he intended to dedicate the *Wealth of Nations*, as a mark of esteem and an acknowledgement of his indebtedness, and Gournay, the originator of the phrase *laissez faire*, no doubt exercised great influence on Adam Smith's mind, so much so, indeed, that not a few of their errors have crept into his system. Yet throughout his treatise Adam Smith maintains his independence. He playfully censures Quesnai's belief in 'a certain precise regimen, the exact regimen of perfect liberty and perfect justice,' as the universal remedy of existing evils in the body politic, which he attributes to the professional weakness of a clever physician who does not sufficiently trust to the self-rectifying power of nature. And as he evinces a superior tact in diagnosing the social disease, laying his finger on the morbid anatomy of French commerce, resulting from too much prescription under the old régime, so, too, he surpasses the merchant reformer in taking a more business-like view of the situation than Gournay, who was too much led

away by philanthropic sentiment. His Scotch shrewdness preserved Adam Smith from every form of theoretical and utopian Humanitarianism. What is most surprising in *The Wealth of Nations* is the strong practical sense of the author, the light without the heat, the lucidity without phosphorescence—a fact that must have greatly astonished the members of that Glasgow Merchant Club to which Adam Smith belonged, and where no doubt his absent ways and unobservant obliviousness of what was passing around him must have produced many a smile and joke at the expense of the bookish man, who, as they thought, could only see the world through learned spectacles. He made even some converts among them, we are told by one of his English biographers, and for the reason given lately by an eminent man of letters, ‘In the hands of Adam Smith, Political Economy passed from the professor’s study to the market-place of the Exchange.’ That his residence in France, ‘the cradle of Political Economy,’ and his personal intercourse with the Economists, added considerably to his source of information, and gave width and breadth to his large views, there can be no doubt. But it is equally certain that in tracing the laws which govern economic phenomena, his philosophic mind contrasts very favourably with the mental bias and contractedness of view of the men with whom he had so much in common, but who were after all, to use Adam Smith’s words, ‘a pretty considerable *sect*, distinguished in the French Republic of letters by the name of the Economists.’ When Dupont de Nemours discussed this question with J. B. Say, he said that he had learned to read in the writings of the Mercantile school, to think in that of the Physiocrates, but that in Adam Smith he had learned to seek the causes and effects of social phenomena in the nature of things.’

To estimate aright, and to account for, the almost uninterrupted influence of Adam Smith on the development of Economic Science in France, and his persistent hold on the French mind, regardless of some recent protectionist tendencies in ephemeral legislation at the present day, we must not lose sight of the fact that both the Economists of France and Adam Smith were chil-

dren of the times in which they lived, and that their work was the product of the same period, they were the prophets and apostles of the liberal era, they were the optimistic exponents of this coming age of freedom, they entered upon a common crusade against feudal burdens, and systems of restraint and regulation, as impediments to industry. They had seen the evil results of Absolute Government control, and accordingly demanded a restoration of natural liberty and the 'natural distribution which the most perfect liberty could establish.' With Rousseau and Morelli they demanded a return to nature and a following of the code of nature instead of maintaining effete social institutions, the result of artificial arrangements and authoritative enactments of bungling legislators. So far the Physiocrats and Adam Smith were agreed. He, like Turgot, explains the facts of the Economic process as arising from national causes, he with Quesnai demands 'le pleine liberté de concurrence,' and with the rest of this school he believed in a pre-established order of nature, and shares their common hope that in leading all men to pursue their own interests the common welfare would be secured in the best manner, in that case, to use the words of Mercier de la Rivière, 'le monde alors va de lui même.' This explains the frequent use of such expressions in the *Wealth of Nations* as 'Natural price,' 'Natural Interest,' 'Natural increase of Capital,' 'Natural right of private property,' all of which are contingent on 'the obvious and simple system of Natural Liberty,' which 'establishes itself of its own accord,' if left alone, and in which 'the Natural effort of every individual to better his own condition when suffered to exert itself with freedom and security,' will conduce finally to the 'Natural progress of opulence.'

This natural bent of mankind selfishly to pursue personal ends without regard to the general welfare might be used as an argument against the practical application of the *laissez faire* principle by the apologists of benevolent despotism. They might point to some unguarded expression of Adam Smith, as for example when he speaks of the 'natural tendency of the landowners to reap where they have not sown,' and generalizing upon them, condemn the whole system. But Adam Smith has a re-

ply for such ready at hand. Every individual, indeed, he acknowledges:

'Neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it'; but then, as he proceeds, he 'is led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for the society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good.' (Book iv., chap. ii.)

Modern French apologists of Adam Smith's system, like M. G. de Molinari are not loth to add that if the system, as propounded by their master, has not produced all the happy results predicted of it by the 'Prophet of Free Trade,' it is because his theory has only been applied partially and tentatively up to the present moment. When it shall have been applied completely, and universally it will produce universal happiness. Prevent 'that insidious and crafty animal vulgarly called a statesman or politician' from marring the 'natural order of things' by unwarrantable 'encroachments upon natural liberty' and all will be right, such was the burden of Adam Smith's cry; but he added sorrowfully, 'to expect indeed, that the freedom of trade should be entirely restored in Great Britain is as absurd as to expect Oceana or Utopia should be ever established in it.' The unexpected has come to pass, and yet it has not brought about this economic harmony of interests expected from it. Here, then, say his opponents, there must be a flaw in the arguments by which the system is sustained. And, cynically, it is added, individualism has gained the day, men are left alone to fight it out among themselves, and like natural brute beasts they are seen devouring one another in the struggle for existence. 'Let them,' says some of the most rigid adherents of the *laissez faire* school, 'and it will end in the survival of the fittest'—such, at least, is the present position taken up by the professed followers of Adam Smith in France. In this, however, they go far beyond their acknowledged master, who had been brought up in a school that knew not Darwin, nor Darwin's law of the survival of the fittest, which was avowedly derived from Adam

Smith's pupil Malthus. As we shall see presently the author of the *Theory of the Moral Sentiments* was no believer in the blind forces of nature, and he did not conceive of natural laws in the economic world after the manner of Nineteenth Century thinkers. He was a steadfast believer, on the contrary, in the 'Benevolent Wisdom of Nature,' supplementing selfishness by sympathy and correcting the tendencies of isolated effort by the necessities of mutual aid, and so securing human solidarity, a sentiment expressed so aptly by Pope—it is the creed of the Eighteenth Century:—

'God in the nature of each being founds
Its proper bias and sets its proper bounds,
But as he framed the whole to bless
On mutual wants built mutual happiness,
So from the first the Eternal order ran,
And creature linked to creature, man to man.'

Here, then, is one of those points of departure between Adam Smith and his French admirers which may serve as the starting point for a line of demarcation between master and disciples. It has to be distinctly borne in mind in judging of the system, as a whole, that these differences arise from personal peculiarities, national idiosyncracies, and historical antecedents affecting economic thought and life in the two countries. At the time when the *Wealth of Nations* made its appearance England was on the eve of an industrial revolution, and Adam Smith's treatise furnished the weapons in defence of Free Trade, and in favour of the moneyed as opposed to the landed interest. France, on the other hand, was on the eve of a political revolution, and demands for liberty meant more than the abolition of what modern French economists call now 'le régime de tutelle économique,' it meant making a clean table of the whole social constitution of the past. In Great Britain it was enough to give a complete analysis of the economic process lately come into operation. In France, the facts inductively collected to build up the system contained in the *Wealth of Nations* were at once used deductively to prove what the organization of labour—what is now termed 'la mécanique industrielle'—ought to be. For this reason French economists, past

and present, have much more in common with Ricardo and the 'Epigoni' of Adam Smith, than with the latter, mainly because their strictly logical method is more suitable to the doctrinaire disposition of the French mind. Fondness for abstract reasoning, inclines both to treat political economy as an exact science, and economic factors like mathematical factors of more or less easy computation. Adam Smith is never thus led astray by his love of dialectical display, though, like most Scotchmen, he was not deficient in the faculty of deductive ratiocination. But he carefully avoids axiomatic precision—he never defines labour, though he regards it as the source of all wealth—and thus it happens that in many economic theories as to the self-regulating tendencies of demand and supply, the laws affecting the rise and fall of wages, the increase and decrease of population, and the concurrent effects on the unequal distribution of wealth, that when Adam Smith only gives what may be called his pragmatic sanction, his French followers enounce a dogmatic creed. In fact, Adam Smith's system has shared the fate of all such systems—isolated statements are converted into formulae, doctrines tentatively advanced are turned into infallible dogmas, whilst counsels of perfection are codified into compulsory laws. As in the case of new religious systems, first comes the appeal to Cæsar, then the age of the apologists, succeeded by the age of aggressive attacks on unbelievers, so in the development of the economic doctrine the Physiocrates and Adam Smith were satisfied in appealing to public opinion, Ricardo and his school were the advanced apologists of the new creed. Their followers, like the schoolmen, have formulated dogmas, and accuse of heresy, though they do not burn, those who do not implicitly accept them as articles of faith.

At the centenary of the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*, held in London under Mr. Gladstone's presidency, M. Leon Say, one of the distinguished guests, in his after dinner speech at the Political Economy Club, related how his grandfather, J. B. Say, came over to England in 1814, and visited Glasgow, how he sat in the professor's chair where Adam Smith had lectured, and 'took his head into his hands in the effort, as it were, of carrying back into France a spark of his master's genius.' If

it was not too unkind a response to such a high-flown compliment, we might feel inclined to say that ever since the French economists—with some notable exceptions—like the Pharisees, sitting in Moses's seat, have, with the native love of exaggeration, and rigidly pursuing ideas to their logical conclusions, done much to bring Adam Smith's system into disfavour whilst endeavouring honestly and almost timidly to follow in his steps.

The line of demarcation which divides Adam Smith from his Gallican friends might be produced indefinitely were space infinite at our command, but we must turn now our attention to some recent criticisms of his Teutonic adversaries in the course of which we shall have again occasion to notice some of these diverging tendencies. What has brought Adam Smith into discredit in Germany is, in the first place, the tendency of his later representatives to exclude ethics from economics in their eagerness to represent the laws of Political Economy as laws of nature, and to do so at the expense of the moral nature of man, considered as an economic being.* Thus Adam Smith's system, judged by its further developments, is accused of neglecting too much the ideal good in over-estimating 'economic values,' and of disregarding the concurrent suffering of unsuccessful competitors in the arena of life in dwelling exclusively on the natural causes in 'the production and accumulation of wealth.' The system is accused of materialism and unmitigated egotism by philosophers and philanthropists, whilst social reformers and socialistic theorists are equally severe in condemning (with Carlyle in this country) the apparent inhumanities of the 'dismal science,' which hands

* 'The Science of Political Economy, considered according to the French Economists, must be classed with the Natural Sciences, which are purely speculative, and can have no other end than the knowledge of the laws which regulate the object of their researches; while viewed according to the doctrine of Smith, Political Economy becomes connected with the other usual Sciences, which tend to ameliorate the condition of their object, and to carry it to the highest perfection of which it is susceptible.' Germain Garnier's comparative view of the doctrines of Smith and the French Economists, in the preface of the French translation of the *Wealth of Nations*.

over peace to the inexorable laws of demand and supply against which there is no appeal. In other words, there is a general revolt against the system of utilitarian plutology which is traced to Adam Smith's view of the economic progress 'from the standpoint of vulgar utility.' We may consider these counter movements of the times under the following heads: (1) The objections of Idealism in philosophy which tends to depreciate the materialistic aspects of the system of Political Economy founded on Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. (2) The strictures of Realism in the study of Political Economy, as a branch of sociology, with a preference for inductive and historical treatment as opposed to the deductive or logical method adopted by Adam Smith's followers. (3) The attacks of Socialism (including State socialism and some forms of Christian socialism) against the selfish principles of Adam Smith's system, having for their practical results the social evils of the day, which are used, again, as an argument for a partial or complete transformation of existing social institutions.

The first, then, of these counter tendencies in contemporary thought and life is the revival of Philosophical Idealism in its effects on social ethics. Thus, e.g., Lange, in his work on the history of Materialism, speaks of the materialism of Political Economy, the rise and progress of which he ascribes to the development of the material resources of this country and its expansion in the Colonies. This, he says, has introduced a moderate egotism, which finds its delight in acquisition rather than self-indulgence, and which pervades all classes of society, serving as the only basis of morality—hence its name, 'Ethical Materialism,'—and which appears to find no difficulty in coming to terms with religion. Bacon's experimental philosophy, which produced the self-consciousness of man's power over nature, and Hobbes' political philosophy, which makes self-love the principle of social contract, paved the way, through Mandeville to Adam Smith's Philosophy of Political Economy, which makes self-interest the foundation of the economic structure of society.

Adam Smith, who lived in an age which combined Natural

Realism with Spiritual Idealism in Philosophy, was no doubt influenced by the former as well as the latter of these two tendencies. When he presents what would now be called the physical aspect of the growth and mechanism of society, he gives prominence to the fact that the constant effort of every man to better his own condition is the ruling motive of economic activity, and that in this combined effort of individuals lies the promise of social progress. But when he comes to speak in another work of the *Moral Sentiments*, and shows the correcting influences of sympathy in modifying man's selfish propensities, he no longer dwells on the familiar features of the economic man as a money-making animal, but he indicates in more than one eloquent passage that wealth is only a means to the higher ends of life. The 'disposition to admire, and almost to worship, the rich and the powerful, and to despise, or at least to neglect, persons of poor and mean condition,' is 'the great and most universal cause of the corruption of our moral sentiments.' The marvellous revelations of natural resources now for the first time utilized by man, had produced towards the close of the last century this tendency to regard with pride and hope the growth of material prosperity, and Adam Smith himself was carried along with the stream to a great extent. But the concurrent effort of political and intellectual emancipation in that 'age of reason' produced also idealisms peculiar to itself which find their expression in the Religious Rationalism and revolutionary ferment of the times, as well as in the transformation of ethical doctrines through Kant (himself of Scotch descent), with whom Adam Smith has been more than once compared, and whose categorical imperative implies an entire emancipation of man's moral nature from self and self-seeking, 'the action of a free and self-conditioned and eternal mind in man.' The following passage taken from the 6th part of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, dealing with the character of Virtue, shows that Adam Smith's moral aspirations did not fall very short from the highest ideal of the times, and that in this, no less than his enthusiasm for economic progress, he faithfully reflects the spirit of the age in which he lived:

'The wise and virtuous man is at all times willing that his own private

interest should be sacrificed to the public interest of his own particular order or society. He is at all times willing, too, that the interest of this order or society should be sacrificed to the greater interest of the State or sovereignty, of which it is only a subordinate part. He should, therefore, be equally willing that all those inferior interests should be sacrificed to the greater interest of the universe, to the interest of that great society of all sensible and intelligent beings, of which God himself is the immediate administrator and director.'

And again in the seventh part, speaking of the comparative claims of self-interest and a regard to the common interest, he says :—

'Carelessness, or want of economy are universally disapproved of, not, however, as proceeding from a want of benevolence, but from a want of the proper attention to the object of self-interest . . . it does not follow that a regard to the welfare or disorder of society, should be the sole virtuous motive of action, but only that, in any competition, it ought to cast the balance against all other motives.'

Such, and similar passages, which might be quoted in abundance, show that Adam Smith did not subordinate social obligations to the physical laws of self-preservation as Roesler and other critics have asserted or tacitly assumed, but that the conception of a social order in which 'energy should be founded on sympathy' was clearly before his mind. In his *System of Ethics* he speaks rather in the imperative mood, as he does in his *System of Economics* in the indicative. Some of his followers have reversed the order and, as Lange himself says finely, have fallen into the mistake of formulating the laws of Political Economy, as so many categorical commands of what man ought to do, instead of describing them in tendencies of what man might do if he was actuated throughout by no other but selfish motives. Adam Smith deals with human nature in its normal conditions and for practical ends as he finds it. His followers in treating of human selfishness, 'self-interest, that prime director of all labour and industry,' as the principal factor in 'Political Arithmetic,' appear often to regard it as a constant quantity incapable of moral development and change.

This brings us to the second count in the indictment against the system founded by Adam Smith, in which the representa-

tives of the realistic or historical school of Political Economy are the accusers. In this age of reflective analysis, they say, we want observation and interpretation of facts rather than the ingenious theoretical fictions concerning the abstract economic man. The spirit of the age is opposed to any kind of pretended science which deals with unproved data, and deduces laws from 'hazy and preposterous assumptions.' It is strange and not a little surprising to find Adam Smith accused of an extreme tendency to abstract reasoning which overlooks facts. The principal charm of his work is the wealth of illustration from actual life in support of his economic theory. If in the *Wealth of Nations* he often employs the deductive method, and builds too much on 'the postulates of human selfishness,' for the purpose of establishing his theory of society, this is, as Buckle shows, a peculiar literary artifice of selecting the general aspects of the economic process, and deducing from it the laws of economic science. In doing so he only followed what he himself calls 'the propensity to account for all appearances from as few principles as possible.' But in other works, all forming part of the same plan of an entire system of sociology, he intended to address himself to other sides of human nature, modifying the purely economic aspects of social life. His followers, narrowing rather than widening the basis of the system, have shown an inclination to draw conclusions more absolute than their master, and less strongly supported by facts. It is these doctrinaire exaggerations and dogmatic limitations which the German critics have in view when they, perhaps too summarily, dispose of 'Smithianismus' as an unproved hypothesis. It was natural for Adam Smith, appalled by the variety of aspects and the stupendous task of traversing the whole field of social science, to attack the subject in detail; and in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* we have another branch of the science of man in society treated separately, and here he selects sympathy as the primal motive of human action in the moral relations, as in the *Wealth of Nations* self-interest is selected as the principal motive of economic exertion. It is unfortunate that this justifiable artifice should have become the occasion on the part of friend and foe for misrepresenting Adam Smith's system, as too

artificial in its doctrinal elaboration, or simply as an art for making money. No unbiassed reader of the *Wealth of Nations* could accuse Adam Smith as ignorant of the fact that man is a child of civilization, the product of history and social development, that the social organism undergoes changes in the course of economic evolution, that local circumstances, ethnic peculiarities, national customs, the institutions of law and religion, as well as the tidal waves of industrial prosperity and adversity, corresponding often to alternate seasons of intellectual activity and languor, materially affect the play of economic forces, and preclude a puny mechanical view of this branch of human conduct, and produce variations in the resultant unlike the results of physical action and reaction, according to the fixed laws of nature.

We have been lately told by a competent authority on the present position of economics that what is required of students of the science now is to interrogate facts, 'in order to learn the manner of action of causes singly and in combination; applying this knowledge to build up the *organon of economic theory*, and then making use of the organon in dealing with the economic side of social problems.' This is exactly the principle which, as it appears to us, guided Adam Smith in his researches a century ago, in his endeavour to meet the requirements of his own times. Hence the tentative mode of his procedure, and his adoption now of the inductive and then of the deductive method to arrive at his conclusions. He, too, was an innovator when he inaugurated a new system of Political Economy, as, indeed, the school founded by his disciple was called 'a new school of Political Economy.' Innovation of some kind is in the very nature of a progressive science, and it would be a great error to suppose that the science was born and died with Adam Smith and his commentators. It would be equally erroneous to suppose that his system has been partly or wholly superseded by the new school of Political Economy. There is a continuity in the development of economic doctrine as in the doctrine of the 'Science of Sciences.' It was an excusable hyperbole in an after-dinner oration when the present Lord Sherbrooke, then

Mr. R. Lowe, said at the centenary celebration referred to above: 'I think Adam Smith is entitled to the merit, and the unique merit, among all men who have ever lived in this world, of having founded a deductive and demonstrative science of human action and conduct,' though Adam Smith did much towards the consummation of this vast programme. But it would be equally absurd to deny that Adam Smith occupies the foremost rank among the pioneers of the science, and that in its further developments the lines marked out by his master mind will have to be followed strictly, though not in a slavish spirit, by others. Adam Smith's atomistic view of human society is explained by the centrifugal forces operant in his own day. Individualism was its chief characteristic. As the liberties men fought for then were granted, as a new order of things came into existence, a number of fresh facts also appeared, demanding a new settling, and with this the search for a key to the new situation, how to reconcile the interests of society with those of its individual members, and how to bring about a reconciliation between the liberal *régime*, and a more perfect organization of distributive equity. In accordance with this tendency Political Economy is being regarded more and more as a department of the larger science of Sociology, and is taken out of the position of strict isolation to which it had been relegated, not so much by Adam Smith himself as by some of his followers. This is but natural, and the position of the modern innovators is so much like that of Adam Smith, that one of the most moderate and best known of the school, Schäffle, in a letter to the present writer, written about ten years ago, and referring to a work 'on the structure and life of the social organism, an encyclopædic attempt of a real anatomy, physiology, and psychology of human society,' then in progress of publication, compares his own position to that of Adam Smith, and anticipates the same objections on the part of the 'literary mob' which Hume prepares his friend to expect on the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*, and adds our correspondent, referring to his own position, 'in the primeval forests one must not expect much society, and as a backwoodsman I must rest contented to work alone.' The title of this great

work of Schäffle's, which has since attracted considerable attention among European Economists, shows the comprehensive scope of economic science as viewed by the new school. But it may be added, without wounding the susceptibilities of the living in lauding the dead above measure, that the difficulties of the undertaking and the magnitude of the task encountered by the Scotch philosopher, were immeasurably superior to the difficulties of those who, in their turn, have subjected his work to a searching scrutiny, as their own, no doubt, will have to undergo further criticism and amendment in the future.

But Political Economy is not only a science of the laws which regulate the production and distribution of wealth with a set of theorems to be proved; it is also a branch of social science, and as such has to deal with certain problems requiring to be solved in connection with the 'Economics of Industry.' Dunoyer's motto: 'Je n'impose rien, je ne propose rien, j'expose' is telling enough as an expression—a worthy intention of impartial exposition, but it is beside the mark, if we consider the practical functions of the economist in the settlement of these burning questions, urgently pressed upon us at this moment, and finding their full expression in the formidable European movement, known as Socialism.

Socialism, as the name itself indicates, is above all things a protest against the Individualism of our modern industrial system, and we are thus brought to the last stage of our inquiry into the controversy between Adam Smith's followers and the adherents of Socialism in its various forms. The negative criticism of the Socialists on the exclusively chresmatic aspect of Political Economy as presented to us in the *Wealth of Nations*, and their emphatic contradiction of the underlying principle, that 'whatever increases wealth increases well-being,' dates really far back into the beginning of this century. James Lauderdale in his enquiry into the nature and origin of Public Wealth, and Sismondi in his *Nouveaux principes de l'Economie Politique*, drew attention to the danger of over-estimating the mere accumulation of wealth, and underrating the danger of increasing the contrast between 'wealth and want.' But

these were the warnings of thoughtful men anxious to avert social catastrophes. The Socialist of to-day welcomes them as the inevitable results of a system he is bent on demolishing. He points triumphantly to the fact that European society at this moment is in a state of solution solely and in consequence of the unfettered pursuit of private interests which was held up as the panacea of curing all social evils in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. The manifestations of Socialism, it is said, are nothing else but the convulsions of the social organism arising from previous unhealthy exertion and overpressure of its functions. A crisis is imminent, requiring organic changes. The industrial régime founded on Individualism must give way to Collectivism, as the ancient régime was found no longer suitable to the physiological transformations of modern society at the dawn of the liberal era. Strange to say, extremes meet here when economists of the stamp of M. de Molinari and M. Leroy Beaulieu, modern followers of Adam Smith *au rigueur*, join in the cry, 'Down with Individualism!' 'L'avenir appartient donc à l'entreprise collective et le jour viendra où l'entreprise individuelle sera une rareté comme le rouet ou le métier à tisser la main,' says M. de Molinari in his work on Economic Evolution. What is meant by collective industry M. Leroy-Beaulieu explains in his work on Collectivism, viz.: 'La substitution du grand commerce, même pour le détail, au petit commerce, . . . le progrès des sociétés anonymes,' &c., &c. This, indeed, is not the collectivism of the Socialists, but it leads to it. It is regarded merely in the light of a transition stage between Individualism and Socialism. Yet a little while, it is hoped, and the extinction of every vestige of small trade and the concentration of the world's commerce in a few hands, like the Vanderbildts, will prepare the world for a new order of things. What the commercial company can do the community can do equally well. It can appoint its own captains of industry and manage its own affairs for the purposes of production. Private enterprise may become public enterprise, and the functions of capitalism may be as well performed by the functionaries of the people's State. As constitutional government is a middle

term between autocracy and democracy, so 'the republicanism of trade' will be brought about by first displacing the private employer by the public company, and then the latter by the organization of labour by the Commune. 'What is the result of free labour,' asks the Socialist, 'What of free contract, freedom in the selection of calling and abode, with the free development of private property?' Answer: 'The oppression of the weak by the strong, and the iron law of wages which, according to Ricardo, one of the most consistent of Adam Smith's pupils, which keeps the labourer in a condition bordering on starvation.' 'What are the reasons of this?' The cupidity of the Capitalist, whose 'sole motive,' in the words of Adam Smith, is 'the consideration of his own private profit,' 'all for ourselves, and nothing for other people, seems in every age of the world to have been the vile maxims of the masters of mankind.' 'This being so, and no age has been more so than our own in unprincipled rapacity, and none so hypocritical. This accumulation of private property must be put a stop to, and a new system must be introduced where this form of "Expropriation" is made impossible, and Industry is placed under the protection of Society, that each may receive his due and render due service to the community.' Such, briefly put, are the arguments of Modern Socialism, and they are founded in a great measure on statements and admissions contained in text-books of Political Economy. 'Labour is the measure of the changeable value of all commodities,' are the words of Adam Smith himself. Therefore to labour all wealth is due, say the programmes of Modern Socialism, and, it is argued, such would be the case if the present wages system—a fruitful source of enriching the capitalist employer at the expense of the labourer—were abolished and labour notes or assignats, representing so much exchangeable value of labour-time, were used as the common currency. But this would give the death-blow to Adam Smith's system, which has been called simply an 'exchange-value system.' In the opinion of Socialists the system is doomed, and stands self-condemned by its own admission. Such is the main position taken up by Socialism, though there are many side issues which we cannot here notice. Professor Sidgwick, in his

address before the British Association at Aberdeen, pointed out the fallacy of Adam Smith's statement that labour is an accurate standard of all exchangeable commodities, and it would be a futile task to set up a defence on this head. But it is only just to remark—especially as it is a point perhaps not quite so well known by 'every tyro of the science,' and some others besides—that this statement, on which such an immense superstructure has been erected, was never intended by Adam Smith at least as an axiom of economic science. It was rather intended to secure for labour its rightful place of honour, or as some have aptly expressed it, to make out 'its patent of nobility' with which it might proudly enter the lists with the aristocracy of birth and talent, and for this reason Adam Smith attributed to labour the power of creating all value.

For this reason, too, it is absurd to charge the system of Adam Smith, as some Socialists do, with supreme indifference to the sufferings of the great mass of the people. Witness his definition of the objects of Political Economy: 'First, to provide a plentiful revenue or subsistence for *the people*, or more properly, to enable them to provide such a revenue or subsistence for themselves,' etc.* Adam Smith is nowhere guilty of making superficial apologies for glaring inequalities in the distribution of wealth after the manner of some of his disciples, as when one of them in a professedly scientific treatise speaks of accident as the great leveller, 'L'accident, tout aussi bien que le contingent, joue un grand rôle dans le repartition de richesses.' Adam Smith accepted the fact of inequality as part of the system of things ordered by the 'Invisible hand,' which orders things in such a manner so as to make nearly the

* Compare with this such expressions as the following :—

'In the original state of things, which precedes both the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock, the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer.' Book i., ch. viii. And again :—

'No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part are poor and miserable. It is but equity, besides, that they who feed, clothe, and lodge the whole body of the people should have such a share of the produce of our labour, as to be themselves tolerably well fed, clothed, and lodged.' Ib.

same distribution of the necessities of life which would have been made had the earth been divided into equal portions among all its inhabitants.' For the rich in their employment of the poor, 'without intending it, without knowing it, advance the interests of society.' (*Moral Sentiments*, Part iv., chap. i.) The implicit faith of some of his most recent disciples in the self-regulating and self-rectifying mechanism of exchange with a constant tendency to perfect equality, was not shared altogether by Adam Smith, who traces some inequalities to their 'natural causes,' and others to 'pernicious institutions.' An evolution of order out of the chaos of conflicting interests without any directing power except the 'laws of nature,' in the modern sense of the word, would have had no meaning for him. Therefore, although he resents the meddling interferences of the statesman with the natural course of private enterprise, nothing was further from his mind than the idea of absolute 'economic passivity of the State.' For when he begins to treat of the systems of Political Economy in the Fourth Book of the *Wealth of Nations*, he starts with the definition, part of which has been already quoted, of 'Political Economy, considered as a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator,' and 'it proposes to enrich both the people and the sovereign.' What then is the relation of Adam Smith's theory to what now-a-days is termed State Socialism? It is not easy to reconcile some of his utterances with strong expressions against State interference in other parts of his great work. Thus much, however, may be affirmed that Adam Smith never dreamed of a system of *laissez faire* as now understood by the so-called Manchester school. He shews, indeed, their dread of bureaucratic centralization; but then he lived at a time when the wealth of nations was still closely associated with the enrichment of princes. Quesnai's phrase, '*pauvre peuple pauvre roi*,' shews what was then the object of swelling the national income.

The principle of carrying out social reforms by means of legislation, so far from being contrary to Adam Smith's principles, is really in strict conformity with them, and there is no inconsistency whatever in the passing of a number of measures for the protection of labour by liberal Statesmen and successive liberal administrations, if the following passage be interpreted aright as

far as it applies to the circumstances of the Constitutional State of the present day.

'According to the system of natural liberty, the sovereign has only three duties to attend to . . . first, the duty of protecting the society from the violence and invasion of other independent societies; secondly, *the duty of protecting, as far as possible, every member of the society from the injustice and oppression of every other member of it*, or the duty of establishing an exact administration of justice; and thirdly, *the duty of erecting and maintaining public works and certain public institutions*, which it can never be for the interest of any individual, or small number of individuals, to erect and maintain; because the profit could never repay the expense of any individual, or small number of individuals, though it may frequently do much more than repay it to the great society.'

The duties here enumerated, specially those we have italicised, leave a large margin for private interpretation, and they bear a considerable amount of elastic stretching for adaptation to present needs.

This explains the influence of Adam Smith on such Conservative Statesmen as Stein and Hardenberg, at a time when the *Polizeistaat* had not yet become the *Rechtsstaat*, i.e., in the first decade of the present Century, whose measures were quoted by Huskisson in the House of Commons just sixty years ago, as an example to follow in this country,—measures which owed their origin entirely to the influence of the *Wealth of Nations* on the minds of these Prussian legislators. The truth is that whilst Adam Smith fully recognises the abuses of State interference, he does not underrate its lawful uses as a corrective of economic lawlessness, as an ethical complement of economic enterprise, and as a constraining power authoritatively representing the public conscience, what he terms 'natural justice' by means of a system of 'natural jurisprudence.' As there were self-interested persons in Adam Smith's time who were strenuously opposed to his new doctrine of Free Trade because they profited by the existence of monopolies created by the State, so there are others now-a-days who object to every conceivable form of State interference as contrary to liberal principles, chiefly because it interferes with their own attempts to make a liberal provision for themselves. Referring to such objectors on the score of a violation of natural liberty, Adam Smith remarks:—

'Such regulations may, no doubt, be considered as in some respect a violation of natural liberty; but these exertions of the natural liberty of a few individuals, which might endanger the security of the whole society, were, and ought to be, restrained by the laws of all governments; of the most free, as well as of the most despotical.' (Bk. ii., ch. ii.)

Here we pause as the attention of the reader, who has followed us thus far, has been overtaxed already. From what has been said, the general conclusion will be drawn that the main position of Adam Smith's theory remains unshaken—the roots and the stem remain intact though some of the branches have suffered from the rough gusts of adverse criticism, and some wild excrescences have been and are being lopped off, to facilitate further healthy growth in the tree of Economic Knowledge. The triangular attack on the ethical inefficiency, theoretical incompleteness, and political imperfection of Adam Smith's system as handed down to us by his followers though in many points unfair, unjust, and ungenerous, has been fruitful in some beneficent results. Had Adam Smith lived long enough to carry out his whole plan of giving to the world a comprehensive system of the theory of man in society, or had he been able to foresee all the effects of the industrial system, the main springs of which he so admirably describes, he no doubt would have left a theory more complete in itself and less liable to be misconstrued by friends, and misinterpreted by enemies.

The more important the work and the more far-reaching the ideas of an epoch-making writer of the stamp of Adam Smith, the longer must be the period required for verifying his theories by experiment; the greater the vitality of the ruling ideas of a System of Philosophy are, the longer must be the time required for its completion; and those are the worst enemies of a great writer who prematurely catalogue his sayings and fossilize his opinions, instead of allowing freedom of organic growth with the growing life and thought of general culture. The preeminent merit of Adam Smith was to show that social phenomena are subject to social laws, though he erred with his contemporaries in postulating a 'code of nature.' His successors have erred by reason of false analogies, in confounding the laws which guide human conduct with the impersonal laws governing matter, and thus

treating moral factors as if they were physical forces. It is reserved for the present age to correct the errors of the past and to transmit the Science of Political Economy intact as to its fundamental doctrines, but enlarged by further experience, to the generations of the future.

M. KAUFMANN.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

System of Christian Ethics. By Dr. J. A. DORNER. Edited by Dr. A. DORNER. Translated by C. M. MEAD, D.D., and R. T. CUNNINGHAM, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.

The late Dr. Dorner, as is well known, was one of the leaders of the Evangelical School of German Protestant theologians. His present work occupied him up to the time of his death, and has been completed and edited by his son. The concluding work of his life, it is also the final work of the series of writings to the composition of which he devoted himself, and is evidently based on his *Christian Dogmatics*. Like most other German works of the kind, it is largely made up of controversy, and like them is consequently to a large extent negative in its arguments. Dr. Dorner, however, had his own views as to the principles of Christian Ethics, and has here set them out with considerable clearness; his Editor and Translators now and then acting as interpreters or commentators where his words seemed to them to be obscure or in need of explanation. Ethics, like Dogmatics, have long been the field of controversy. Systems of the one are about as numerous as systems of the other; and their principal value so far has consisted in showing how far and on what points one writer differs from another. The real work of the moral philosopher of apprehending and demonstrating the higher truths or principles in which their apparently conflicting doctrines or opinions are reconciled, has not, so far as the present writer is aware, been attempted, at least by the school of writers to which Dr. Dorner belonged, and one is tempted to ask, When will this logomachy cease? At present the chief aim of the writers of most schools of Ethics appears to be to refute the opinions of others and to maintain their own. If it be true that every evil tends to cure itself and ultimately will, the final result of this will be a consummation which is devoutly to be desired; but if it be not, and no strenuous effort is made to counteract it, the only issue that can be looked for is a wider divergence in opinion with increased controversy. Meantime, among the most evident results are a certain narrowness of vision and a want of sympathy with the positions taken up by others, even though their positions cannot be exactly charged with being fundamentally wrong. From traces of these things Dr. Dorner's book cannot be said to be wholly free. As to the derivation of the principles of Christian, as distinguished from Philosophical, Ethics, he is of course in agreement with most Christian writers on the subject, their origin being, as he maintains, in God, the absolutely Good, and their highest manifestation in Jesus Christ. Here and there, too, when discussing their fundamental character, he gives expression to a number of very just opinions, and manifests a tendency to recognise and acknowledge truths in which apparently conflicting doctrines are reconciled; as for instance, when he says: 'The same Logos that appeared in Christ is also the prime agent in the first creation, and cannot therefore be in contradiction to it.' This is said in reference to the opinion that natural Ethics and Christian are two irreconcilable things, and furnishes a point of departure for the settlement of some important controversies. At the same time it indicates a method for the treatment

of Ethics which, if strictly followed out, would in all likelihood eliminate a good deal of controversy and help to reconcile various parties and schools, besides contributing largely to the advancement of the science.

Astrology in the Apocalypse, an Essay on Biblical allusions to Chaldean Science. By W. GERSHOM COLLINGWOOD, M.A.
George Allen, Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent, 1886.

The writer of this little book has contributed much to the better understanding not only of the Apocalypse, but of many other parts of the Bible which are metaphorical in expression not less than in meaning. It is Mr. Collingwood's endeavour to point out various elements in the structure of the Revelation of St. John, which may be ultimately traced to the influence of astrological ideas derived by the Israelitish patriarchs from their early connection with the Chaldeans. If the Bible is rightly described as the literature of the Jews, it is interesting to note how the ideas which dominate the early books are taken up again with a new application by the last of the sacred writers. This has been done with great minuteness, and a patience that might have induced a pretentious student to make more of his work than Mr. Collingwood seems to claim for the distinct service he has rendered to Biblical criticism. That the Israelites were possessed of astrological notions is clearly seen in various parts of the Old Testament, in the references to the constellations in Job (ix. 9., and xxxviii. 31. 32.); to the stars fighting against Sisera (Judges, v. 20) 'not,' as Mr. Collingwood observes, 'as meteorites, but as controllers of fate;' in the star-worship of Ahaz; in the rebuke administered to the house of Israel for similar abominations by the mouth of the prophet Amos (v. 26.); and to mention no other cases, more particularly in the book of Daniel, where the belief in the science of astrology touches its highest point. Even in the New Testament there is a passage (in Luke xxxi. 25), in which Christ Himself may be held to be using astrological language; 'there shall be signs in the sun and moon and in the stars . . . for the powers of heaven shall be shaken.' The various celestial phenomena at the birth and again at the crucifixion of Christ point to a general acceptance of astrological ideas in Palestine. But it is in the Apocalypse itself that the influence of the Chaldean science is paramount, and Mr. Collingwood traces it through all the figures in that book with a success which seem to disarm any criticism as to the general truth of his point of view. Thus the Seven Churches are ruled by the seven great angels, identical in astrology with the sun, moon and five planets in the gamut of the spheres, which re-appear in the seven seals, trumpets, and vials. An analysis of the phenomena which attend the opening of the seals, makes it evident that there is much strength in the parallel which can be drawn between them and the usual characteristics of the seven planets of ancient astronomy. The Apocalypse closes with the description of the New Jerusalem, which in the same line of thought is antithetical to the old city of Babylon. The old Babylon, cleansed and purged from its abominations, becomes, in a sense deeper than any astrology can supply, the eternal city of God. It would be impossible in the limits assigned to a very short review to give any account of the marvellous similarity of characteristics which Mr. Collingwood points out in the twelve zodiacal signs, the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve jewels of the breastplate, and the twelve Apostles who form the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem. It must not be supposed that anyone accepting these views is bound to think of St. John's description of the Revelation as pure astrology. He writes what he saw in his vision in astrological language as the fittest method at hand of expressing the fact that the new order had

taken the place of the old. There is one doubtful parallel in the book. It is that drawn between the estimation in which Christians of the nineteenth Century hold physical science, and the attitude which the Hebrews and early Christians adopted in regard to astrology. Mr. Collingwood looks upon St. John as making use of the Chaldean system very much in the same way as a modern religious writer might express his views in terms of biology, turning all to the account of Christianity.

The Meditations and Maxims of Koheleth: A Practical Exposition of the Book of Ecclesiastes. By T. CAMPBELL FINLAYSON. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887.

During recent years the Book of Ecclesiastes has attracted a more than ordinary amount of attention, and not a few books have been written about it. Perhaps the most considerable effect of these has been the unsettling of the views of many as to the authorship, time and origin of the Book. At the same time it must probably be admitted that the criticism to which the Book has been subjected, has not been without another and more profitable effect. Two things would seem to be clear. One is that the Book is being more carefully studied; the other is that instead of suffering from the attacks which have been made upon the views hitherto held respecting it, it has actually risen in the esteem of what would appear to be a gradually increasing circle of readers.

The volume now published respecting it by the Rev. Mr. Finlayson consists of a series of practical discourses, which, as he tells us, were originally delivered to his own congregation some three winters ago. They make no pretensions to scholarship, nor to being the result of an independent study of the Sacred Writing. For scholarship Mr. Finlayson has depended upon such writers as Ginsburg, Zöckler, Delitzsch, Dean Plumptre, and Dr. C. H. H. Wright. Where these are in agreement he has followed them, and on one or two points of comparatively minor importance where they differ, he has adopted such opinions or interpretations as commended themselves to his own judgment. For the origin of the Book he names the period either of the Persian or of the Greek domination, and accordingly rejects the idea of its Solomonic authorship. It was written, he believes, mainly for young men, and contains, he assumes, an autobiographical element. The view advocated by Drs. Ginsburg and Cox that it is an attempt to solve the problem of the *summum bonum* he rejects, but it is difficult to see how his own theory of the purpose of the author is different; for according to Mr. Finlayson the author has put down his own observations, meditations, and experiences for the purpose of commending to his readers the conclusion he has arrived at respecting the wisest mode of living. A correct conclusion on this point is, we should say, the true solution to the problem of the *summum bonum*. With the deeper questions suggested by the words of the Preacher Mr. Finlayson does not much concern himself; his aim is to bring out the lessons which the book suggests for practical life.

The Problem of Evil. An Introduction to the Practical Sciences. By DANIEL GREENLEAF THOMPSON. London: Longmans Green and Co. 1887.

Evil is taken by Mr. Thomson in this work as comprehending all forms of pain—moral evil and all the 'other ills that flesh is heir to.' The object he has set before himself is to show the sources from which evil springs, and to indicate how the curative process should be set about, and along what lines it should be pursued. 'Physical evil, or pain, springs from

our sentient, moral evil from our social environment.' The struggle of life is to minimize both as much as possible, and the problem to be solved is, How can this best be done? The various answers of thinkers and teachers—the various *nostrums* of ancient and modern philosophers and reformers are subjected by Mr. Thomson to a careful exposition and scrutiny, their defects pointed out, and what value they had, or have, exhibited. Criticism, in fact, of the schemes of others occupies the greatest part of this volume, but it is so searching, so just, and so wise, that it can hardly fail, if paid heed to, to guide others in dealing with this old, yet ever new, problem. Theological, political, socialistic, and other reformers will all find valuable warnings and counsels here, to which it will do them good to pay careful heed. Our author has no short cut to universal happiness to recommend, but endeavours rather to show how only by patient discipline of all the passions of our nature, and by wise cultivation of the altruistic sentiments and judicious subordination of the egoistic, men may become the fellow-helpers of each other and minister together to promote the general weal. His book is a very able and instructive contribution to political as well as ethical science, and cannot fail to be helpful to all who are engaged in efforts to solve the pressing questions which these present to us from day to day.

The Cosmology of the Rigveda. An Essay. By H. W. WALLIS, M.A. London: Williams & Norgate, 1887.

This essay is by a Hibbert Trust Scholar, and is published by the Trustees. Mr. Wallis endeavours in it to set forth the ideas entertained by the writers of those ancient hymns regarding the formation of the Universe. These are shown chiefly by extracts from the hymns themselves, but these extracts are accompanied with explanatory comments, and valuable dissertations on ancient Indian life and thought, which help the reader to understand and appreciate better the quotations given. The extracts are culled from the hymns in no chronological order, for Sanskrit scholars are still at variance as to the respective ages of these hymns. The principle of selection is therefore simply the uniformity of the references to the particular phase of the world's formation which is being illustrated. To the thought of the Rishis the idea of creation out of nothing was altogether foreign. The one question for them was consequently as to the mode in which the *cosmos* was produced. Mr. Wallis shows that in some hymns the process is compared to the building of an Indian house, while in others it is likened to, and spoken of as, that of generation. He has an interesting chapter on the place assigned to sacrifice in the formation of things, and another on the Rishis' opinions as to the fixity of law—their doctrine of *rita*. A short appendix follows marshalling the results of his study of the Rigveda, with an index for the verification of his texts. The essay is the result of a careful study of the Rigveda, and gives promise of much valuable work in the future from this talented and painstaking Sanskrit student.

Dalmatia, the Quarnero, and Istria with Cettinge in Montenegro and the Island of Grado. By T. G. JACKSON, M.A., F.S.A., &c. 3 Vols. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1887.

This is a book to be admired both for the beauty of its appearance and the quality of its contents. In typography, illustrations, and binding, it is excellent; few more handsome volumes have been issued even from the Clarendon Press. Their contents are made up for the most part of history, travel, and architecture, though students of the other arts will also

find much in them to engage their attention. Both the country and people who appear on Mr. Jackson's pages are worth studying, while the architectural monuments in which the districts abound are of the greatest interest.

For Englishmen, Dalmatia, the 'Kingdom' of Dalmatia as it is called, though since its conquest by the Romans it has never been entitled to rank as independent, has long had a singular attraction. They were the first to make it known to western Europeans, and to call their attention to its monuments. As far back as 1675 Wheeler visited Spalato, and described the ruins of Diocletian's palace. Nearly a century later he was followed by Robert Adams, whose description of that remarkable building is perhaps still the best. In more recent years others of the Slavonic countries along the Eastern shores of the Adriatic have been visited and written about by Englishmen; and as showing the interest taken in them by his countrymen, Mr. Jackson reminds us of the fact that the first edition of Professor Eitelberger's book on the *Mediæval Art of Dalmatia* was almost entirely bought up in England.

Mr. Jackson's book, while for the most part scientific, has much in it to attract those who are neither students nor architects, but who look upon books as companions, and read them for instruction and entertainment. While pursuing his severer studies, he has had an observant eye for the country and people, and here and there in his volumes one comes across a charming bit of descriptive writing in which the natural features of the country, or the habits and appearance of its inhabitants are drawn with remarkable skill. Not the least interesting of these is a passage, too long for quotation, describing the costumes of the men and women about Zara. Here, however, is a passage referring to Ragusa whose ancient duomo, now destroyed, is said to have been built by Richard Cœur de Lion when on his way home from the Crusades. 'There is no newness to disappoint the visitor. Even the Seventeenth Century houses of the Corso or Stradone are now grey, and, being built in the traditional way with arches on the ground floor open to the street, and stone counters half-way across the opening, they are quite picturesque enough, and the general view of this fine street is dignified and interesting. In the open shops on either hand the tradesmen are to be seen busy at their various crafts. Here is a silversmith making the beautiful buttons of silver filagree with which the peasants cover their jackets, or long hairpins like rapiers with a little bird perched on the crosshilt, or earrings with pendant pearls, all of antique and traditional designs, often quite Byzantine in character, and possibly actually derived from Byzantine patterns. Here cross-legged on the raised counter sit two or three tailors in loose black Turkish trousers. Albanians probably—engaged in embroidering with silver and gold braid the jackets and caps of the men and women of the Canali, or of Montenegro, the patterns being all worked by eye without any traced lines, and no two being quite alike, though all conforming to a common scheme of ornament. Other shops are all ablaze with brilliant scarfs and gay handkerchiefs, the speciality of the women of Ragusa, who dress like the Italians in printed cottons and plain gowns, and not after the fashions of the Slavs of the neighbourhood. Of the latter the town is full, and the splendour of their dress surpassed anything we had seen before. There were Canalesi women with brilliantly white coifs stiffly starched and pleated, and Herzegovinian women with red beretta and flowing white handkerchief like a bridal veil. Both men and women wear waistcoats and jackets covered with rich embroidery in gold and silver braid, and hung with buttons of silver gilt filagree, the matron being further distinguished by an edging of gold braid added at marriage to the gorgeous waistcoat, which was the lover's gift. The men wear full Turkish breeches of dark blue, girdled

with rich sashes supporting the leather pouch, and various knives and pistols. Their headdress varies from the turban of the Bosnian to the ordinary red cap of Dalmatia, or the 'pork-pie' beretta of Herzegovina, black-edged and red-crowned, with a half-eclipsed circle of gold braiding, amid which sometimes is seen the cypher 'N. I.' proclaiming the wearer a subject of the free highland principality of Nicolas I. of Montenegro.' (Vol. II. 321-2). Passages such as this, and there are many of them, give a living interest to the volumes and make the reading of them a pleasure.

To the history of the provinces, for the materials of which he has frequently gone to the writings of native historians, Mr. Jackson has devoted a considerable, though by no means disproportioned or unnecessary, amount of space. Half of the first volume is well spent in narrating the history of Dalmatia. The story is one of intense interest, full of movement and change from the first war with Rome in 229 B.C. down to the present day. After the fall of the Western Empire it was governed from Byzantium. Subsequently it was fought for by Franks, Huns, Normans, Hungarians, Turks, and Venice. One of the most singular features in its history is the survival along the seaboard of a number of ancient Roman municipalities, which all through the Middle Ages jealously maintained the civic liberties they inherited from the Empire, and still cling to their '*cultura Latina*' with passionate affection, in spite of the efforts made by the Croats backed by the Austrian Government, to Slavonise them. 'The survival of these waifs and strays of the Roman Empire is,' as Mr. Jackson observes, 'unique,' 'an historical phenomenon of almost unparalleled interest.'

But the main purpose of Mr. Jackson's volumes is architectural. In respect to this the centre of interest is of course Spalato whither Diocletian retired at the vigorous age of fifty-nine, and 'grew the famous cabbages whose cultivation he preferred to cares of Empire,' and spent the remaining years of his life. The palace which he caused to be prepared for him here, is not only a monument of the splendour he took with him into his retirement, it is also unrivalled as the most perfect example of Roman domestic architecture which has survived to the present. In his description of it Mr. Jackson has made use of the folio published in 1764 by Adams, who was the first to reconstruct the building on paper, and the general correctness of whose work, notwithstanding the few inaccuracies which recent explorations have discovered in it, is still admitted. During his visits Mr. Jackson had the misfortune to find both the temple and campanile in process of restoration—a process through which they have not passed without injury. So far as the Dalmatian style of architecture is concerned, however, Zara is for historical purposes of greater interest even than Spalato. It possesses a tolerably complete series of examples of every period from the Eighth Century downwards, and is particularly rich in buildings of the earlier styles, though with the exception of the Church of the Holy Trinity, now known as S. Donato, they have 'to be hunted for and discovered under various disguises as magazines, hay-lofts, and cellars.' Mr. Jackson's chapter upon them is particularly interesting, both on account of its architectural and its historical details. The same may be said about the chapters on the monuments of Ragusa, Traù, and Trieste. In the chapter on Grado new ground is broken. Mr. Jackson is the first Englishman who has described what his own eyes have seen of its quaint and not unimpressive, though badly kept cathedral, with its ancient mosaic pavements, its inscriptions and pulpit.

But to indicate the wealth of information which Mr. Jackson's volumes contain is here impossible. The reader must turn to the book itself. He will find it a rich treasury of information on all that concerns the architee-

ture and art, as well as the history of the Slavonic cities and provinces bordering on the Adriatic, written in clear crisp English, and admirably illustrated.

The Reign of Queen Victoria: A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress. Edited by THOMAS HUMPHREY WARD, M.A.
2 Vols. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1887.

This is unquestionably the most important and valuable of the many books which the celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee has called forth. The idea of the book is excellent, and the editor may be congratulated on having succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of so many capable and distinguished writers. Their names alone are a sufficient guarantee for the excellence of their respective contributions. The task which some of them have had to perform was difficult, owing to the necessity for compression; and many will doubtless wish that one or two of them had treated the subjects assigned to them in greater detail; but be that as it may, there can be but one opinion as to the ability and care with which each has done his allotted part. As in duty bound Mr. Humphrey Ward, the editor of the volumes, contributes the Introduction in which in a few pages he indicates with remarkable clearness some of the main lines of growth and expansion, of development and transformation, on which the United Kingdom and the Empire have proceeded during the half century under review. With the assistance of Mr. Gonner he has also prepared the chapters on 'Legislation,' 'Foreign Policy,' 'Colonial Policy and Progress,' and 'Locomotion,' Mr. Gonner being responsible, however, for the greater part of the two chapters last named. As might have been expected Mr. Ward also writes the chapter on 'Art.' The chapter on 'Constitutional Development,' is from the hand of Sir William Anson, and the one on the 'Administration of Law' from that of Lord Justice Bowen. Lord Wolseley, of course, writes on the Army, and Lord Brassey on the Navy. India has been dealt with by Sir Henry S. Maine, the Growth and Distribution of Wealth by Mr. Giffen, the Iron Trade by Sir Lowthian Bell, Agriculture by Sir James Caird, Schools by Mr. Matthew Arnold, and the Universities by Mr. C. A. Fyfe. Science has been entrusted to the veteran hand of Mr. Huxley, and Mr. Garnett has contributed the paper on Literature. Ireland has a chapter all to itself, but we look in vain for one on Scotland. Education in Scotland is deemed of sufficient importance to be dealt with in a note, and exactly five paragraphs, or about as many pages, certainly not more, out of a chapter covering thirty-three, are given to the Scottish Universities. But a map of the country, showing the parts where the population has increased or decreased, is put in to make up for this!

Boswell's Life of Johnson, including Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales. Edited by GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L.,
Pembroke College, Oxford. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887.

Dr. Birkbeck is, as is well known, a sound Boswellian, and has spent the greater part of his life in studying the literature of the Johnsonian era, and in accumulating materials for the illustration of Boswell's great masterpiece in biography. In his long but very far from uninteresting preface he says, 'Johnson, I fondly believe, would have been pleased, perhaps would have been proud, could he have foreseen this edition.' This is a good deal for an editor to say about his own work, but we are bound to

say that, in the present instance, it is not at all too much. Apart altogether from the Notes and Appendices, the new light thrown upon the text and the fresh information with which Dr. Hill has enriched his edition, the circumstances under which it has been produced have been such that they alone would have been a source of no small gratification to Johnson. Proud of Oxford, warmly attached to Pembroke, and taking a great interest in the Clarendon Press, there are few things, we imagine, which would have given him greater pleasure, or in which he would have taken more pride, than the knowledge that more than a century after his death a distinguished member of his own College would be engaged in preparing a most elaborate edition of his *Life*, and that in addition to this the Press of his own University was employing its unequalled resources for the purpose of doing honour to his memory, and to the genius of his friend and biographer. Boswell, too, we imagine, would have been equally well pleased. Dr. Hill's admiration for his work, and the labour he has devoted to it, would have been highly flattering to his vanity, and his own words leave no doubt as to the feelings with which he would have regarded the tribute paid to him by the University which he had learned, through his intimacy with Johnson, to look up to with something like reverential respect. But to leave the region of speculation; Dr. Hill deserves to be very warmly congratulated on the result of his long and patient, and, if we may so say, affectionate labours. With the help of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press he has produced an edition of Boswell which is not excelled, and which is almost, if not altogether, without a rival. Finality in connections with editions of Boswell is not, we imagine, to be thought of; but be that as it may, there seems to be every probability, though forecasts in literary matters are almost as hazardous as in politics, that for many years to come Dr. Hill's will be the standard edition.

In mechanical workmanship the volumes are admirable. If they have any fault, it is that they are just a trifle heavy for continuous holding in the hand; but so far as paper, printing, illustration and binding are concerned they are simply sumptuous, and form a very handsome set indeed.

Of the illustrative matter added by Dr. Hill in the shape of notes and appendices, and in which, of course, the chief value of the edition consists, it is difficult to speak too highly. The Notes are necessarily numerous; for as Dr. Hill appositely remarks 'Books which were in the hands of almost every reader of the "*Life*" when it first appeared are now read only by the curious. Allusions and quotations which once fell upon a familiar and friendly ear now fall dead. Men whose names were known to every one, now often have not even a line in a Dictionary of Biography. Over manners, too, a change has come, and as Johnson justly observes, "all works which describe manners require notes in sixty or seventy years, or less." And besides, Dr. Hill has had not only to annotate Boswell's narrative, but also to illustrate as well Johnson's sayings—a task which, as no reader of Boswell, or for that matter of Johnson, needs to be told, involves no inconsiderable amount of labour. That Dr. Hill has executed this, the principal, part of his task with admirable skill we have already hinted. As to quotations, he has pointed out for the first time that on page 113 of Vol. III., Boswell quotes the words 'fervour of Loyalty' from the 3rd edition of his '*Hebrides*,' where, however, he lays the emphasis differently, writing '*fervour of loyalty*.' On pp. 117-118, again we have an admirable note on the beautiful lines—

Verse sweetens toil, however rude the sound,
All at her work the village maiden sings, &c. ;

in which they are traced to a volume of anonymous poems, written by the

Rev. Rich. Gifford of Balliol College, Oxford, and published in 1753. Most will agree with Dr. Hill when he says in reference to this: 'That I have lighted upon the beautiful lines which Johnson quoted when he saw the Highland girl singing at her wheel, and have found out who was "one Giffard," or rather Gifford, "a parson," is to me a source of just triumph.' Discoveries of this sort are reserved for the chosen few, and often involve hours of wearied and almost hopeless search; but when they are made the sense of weariness gives place to an inexpressible joy. 'I have not known,' says Dr. Hill, 'many happier hours than the one in which, in the Library of the British Museum, my patient investigation was rewarded, and I perused *Contemplation*.' One note in the first volume shows that the story of Johnson's listening to Sacheverel's sermon is not in any way improbable; while another (pp. 103-5), gives an elaborate account of Johnson's bibulous habits, in which the conclusion is arrived at that Johnson was of opinion that the gout from which he suffered was due to his temperance. Here, however, it is impossible to refer to all the notes to which attention deserves to be directed. It must suffice to say that, numerous as they are, we would not willingly dispense with any of them. Throwing light upon the text, and enabling the reader to form a more distinct conception of the men and times to which it refers, they are just what notes to Boswell ought to be.

In two respects Dr. Hill's edition is unrivalled. In the first place it contains several important additions to the Life; and in the second its indices are more elaborate than any we can remember to have seen. Among the first may be mentioned fifteen hitherto unpublished letters of Johnson's, his college composition in Latin prose, a suppressed passage in his *Journey to the Western Isles*, and Mr. Recorder Langley's record of his conversation with Johnson on Greek metres. The indices have a volume of over 300 pages almost all to themselves. One of them takes the shape of a concordance to Johnson's sayings, and is of abundant usefulness. It is to be hoped that Dr. Hill will be able to bring out his other volumes connected with Johnson, and that the success of his *Boswell* will be, as it ought to be, such as to do considerably more than encourage him.

David Kennedy, The Scottish Singer: Reminiscences of his Life and Work: by MARJORY KENNEDY: and *Singing Round the World, a Narrative of his Colonial and Indian Tours:* by DAVID KENNEDY, Jun. Portrait and Illustrations. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner, 1887.

This is a book which appeals to Scotsmen all over the world, and which Scotsmen all over the world will read with pleasure as deep almost as that with which they listened to the famous Scottish singer as he rendered before them in his own inimitable way the songs and ballads of their native land. Kennedy was a genuine Scot, full of patriotism, and passionately devoted to his art. He came of a singing family, and his highest ambition was to awaken the enthusiasm of Scotsmen, wherever they were to be found, for Scottish music and Scottish songs. Trained up in the old Scottish school of piety he was withal a profoundly religious man, and entertained his ambition in no sordid spirit. One of the most striking passages in the sketch which his daughter has here given of him, is that in which she describes his decision to devote himself exclusively to the singing of the old songs which were continually haunting his mind. Born at Perth, he was apprenticed to a house-painter, and proved himself a good workman and a successful man of business. His leisure hours, however, were given to music, and his Sundays to leading the Psalmody, first in the Church in

Perth, where his father had acted as precentor, and afterwards in one of the Edinburgh Churches. But do what he would, the thought was always returning to him that his mission in life was to make known the songs of Scotland. 'From a boy,' writes his daughter, 'he had cherished the hope of being able to follow the footsteps of Wilson and Templeton. Years only strengthened his belief that he was born to be their successor. After five years of happy married life, his wife died, leaving him with three bairns—two sons, David and Robert, and one daughter Helen. In his loneliness more than ever, the call to sing his country's songs forced itself upon him. Going down a lane one day, he prayed God to help him, to tell him if it were His will that he should be a singer of the songs of Scotland. The answer came "Thou shalt sing;" and from that day he decided to take the daring step of changing his whole career.' This reminds one of the way in which some of the old Italian painters speak of their relations to their own art, and of the spirit in which they pursued it. Kennedy had undoubtedly a sort of inspiration for his art, and always practised it in a religious spirit. We cannot here follow his daughter in the delightful sketch she has given of her father; we can only recommend its perusal. There is much in it to amuse as well as to edify. Kennedy had in him a genuine fund of humour, and was never happier than when he could gather around him a number of brother Scots, and throw into their lives a gleam of joy, or stir their enthusiasm for their country's history or their country's songs. The second part of the volume has appeared before, but the reader will be pleased to have it in its present shape, and to renew his acquaintance with the many pleasant incidents it relates.

A Collection of Letters of W. M. Thackeray, 1847-1855. Portrait and facsimiles. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1887.

The publication of letters by instalments when they are worth publishing is just about as unsatisfactory and tantalising as the publication of a three volume novel chapter by chapter in the pages of a monthly. It is true we have not here the whole of Thackeray's letters, but we have a series, and one is glad to get them in a collected and permanent form if for no other reason than that we are saved the annoyance of having to wait for the 'next number.' Most of them were written to Mr. and Mrs. Brookfield, two of Thackeray's most intimate friends. Since Thackeray ceased to write we have had nothing like them. They are full of kindly, genial humour, and though penned without the slightest idea of publication, they are written in that same admirable and inimitable style which readers of Thackeray have become accustomed to in his novels. Their publication, we should say, will do away with the idea, if it still exists in the minds of any who are open to conviction, that their writer was little better than a cynic, without sympathy or feeling for the miseries and follies of the world. They bear abundant evidence to the contrary. During the time they were written *Pendennis* was on the way, and one hears much about its progress. Here and there too is a note that such and such an one will do for a chapter, which will doubtless send many in quest of the characters. The sketches are in Thackeray's usual style, neither better nor worse, though an exception ought to be made in favour of the 'Lady of the House,' probably intended for Lady Castlereagh, which is the best in the book, and one of the best Thackeray has done. Here and there is a passage in the letters which might have been left out. The subject of one is probably still living, and if so might have been spared the pain its perusal is sure to give. Apart from this, however, the book is one of the most charming we have seen.

The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry. By JOHN VEITCH, Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. 2 Vols. Wm. Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1887.

In these two handsome and beautifully printed little volumes Professor Veitch has opened up an interesting and somewhat novel line of inquiry. A genuine Wordsworthian himself, he has undertaken to find out how far the feelings with which he has learned to regard the glens, hills and dales, and the other features of the natural scenery of the South of Scotland have been shared in by others in other times, through what phases these feelings have passed, and how they have come to be what they are. The inquiry is certainly curious as well as interesting, and if the volumes he has written do no more than direct attention to the old poetry of Scotland and revive an interest in it, they will not have been written in vain.

Whatever the feeling for nature may be in the present, it can not be said that the feeling for Old Scottish poetry is particularly strong. Outside a very limited circle it is very difficult to find any one who takes anything like a lively or intelligent interest in it, or who knows much, or even a little, about it. What interest is taken in it, moreover, is mostly of the philological kind. As poetry it is seldom read. The very language in which it is written is becoming to many a stone of stumbling. Scotchmen well versed in colloquial Scotch, and speaking it, have been known to look at a page of Barbour or Dunbar as if it were as unintelligible as a page of Dutch, and others who have passed through the curriculum of a university have been heard to put inquiries betraying the most pathetic ignorance respecting such poems as 'The Bruce,' 'Wallace,' 'The Flying of Dunbar and Kennedie,' and 'The Golden Targe.' This, we should say, is not as it ought to be. A nation should at least study as well as esteem its literature, if for no other reason than that it contains within it the sure indications of that strong deep life which is its own noblest inheritance.

Roughly speaking, the contents of Professor Veitch's volumes divide themselves into two parts. First we have an Essay, or a series of chapters, covering over a hundred pages, partly historical and partly philosophical, devoted for the most part to the discussion of what is meant by the feeling for nature. The rest of the volumes is occupied by a number of illustrative passages selected from the poets of Scotland, and accompanied by biographical, historical, exegetical, and other notes.

Of the two parts we must own to a preference for the second. The passages chosen are numerous and good, though any one well read would probably have no difficulty in finding others quite as numerous and of quite as excellent a quality for the purpose in hand. The running commentary, however, barring the historical and biographical and similar passages, none other than an unflinching worshipper of Nature after the Wordsworthian type could have written. It is here, we imagine, that the reader will find most to instruct and delight him. We say 'delight' advisedly, because Professor Veitch here, as elsewhere, writes with a charming lucidity, and brings out niceties and points of beauty which the reader, reading with the breathless haste which is now in vogue, will, ten chances to one, unless his attention be called to them, overlook. It is here, too, that we find several things for which in their proper place in the introductory essay, we looked in vain; as, for instance, Professor Veitch's views as to the influence of the French Romantic Poetry on the early Poetry of Scotland. In his 'Historical Survey' he does not mention it, but when dealing with the passages selected from the Romances he does. More, however, might have been

said than Professor Veitch has condescended to say, and in our opinion ought to have been said. Of course there is always the excuse that very little is known about the subject, and above all the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of determining which of the Romances are of really Scottish origin and which are merely Scottish adaptations of Southern or French poems. Yet Professor Veitch is so capable a writer, and as a Scottish professor is in possession of so much leisure, that one is somewhat disappointed to find he has so little to say on a topic which is certainly of not a little importance.

The introductory chapters are, to say the least, excellent reading. The author's own feeling for Nature comes out distinctly, but whether he has altogether apprehended the situation or been just towards the feelings which were entertained by others for the varying aspects of the outward world, may be doubted. The feeling of Homer and Shakespeare for Nature seems to us to be underrated. Neither of them, it is true, were members of the Wordsworthian cult; but it would not be difficult to quote some dozens of passages from each to show that they had as keen a perception and as true an enjoyment of the beauty and grandeur of the phenomenal world as any modern. Their feeling for them was at least healthy and natural, and not, as is often the case now, sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, or of sentimentalism. Dr. Johnson, we imagine, is a little too hardly dealt with. We must own to considerable sympathy with his description of the dreary aspect, at certain seasons and under certain circumstances, of the western moors. We can sympathise, too, as most people are in the habit of doing, with the old poets in their aversion to winter, and just as heartily can we with their exhilaration and joy at the return of spring. We are not sure, however, that what the poets, both ancient and modern, say in respect to nature and their feeling for it is not at times to a very large extent simply conventional. For instance, why does every poet, ancient as well as modern, conceive it to be his business to say something in praise of the month of May. In the south of England, the month is certainly beautiful and deserves all the praise that can be given to it, or has hitherto been sung about it; but in the south-east of Scotland with its 'haars' and bitter east winds, a good deal of courage is required to pronounce it beautiful except perhaps at intervals which unfortunately are extremely rare. This, however, is a point on which Professor Veitch has nothing to say, though the family likeness among many of the passages he has quoted suggests that there is about them not a little of the conventional.

One of the introductory chapters, in fact the first, contains an elaborate analysis of the development of the feeling for nature. Theoretically the analysis seems accurate enough, but whether it is true historically, is open to question. The last stage would seem to be involved in the first. At all events it is a fair question for discussion whether the consciousness of that Spirit and Power which Wordsworth speaks of in 'Tintern Abbey,' and in the fragment beginning 'Spirit and Power of the Universe,' is not given, in some measure at least, with the most rudimentary perception of the surpassing beauty and grandeur of the physical world.

The questions, however, which Professor Veitch's philosophical and historical chapters suggest are numerous. We can assure those who are wise enough to take up his volumes and to devote to them a few weeks or even hours of careful study, that they will find in them much matter for thought, and much to instruct and entertain them in the pleasantest way. They are a valuable addition to our literature, and ought to awaken a living interest in the study of our poets, both modern and ancient.

Principles of English Etymology. By the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D., &c. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887.

This volume is intended to serve as a help to the student of etymology, and may be regarded as an exposition of the principles Dr. Skeat has applied with such admirable skill in his *Etymological Dictionary*. Words of Greek, Latin, French and Semitic origin are, with a few exceptions, left aside for separate treatment in a future volume. Those dealt with here belong, with the exception of a few Latin words adopted into Anglo-Saxon and a number of Celtic words, exclusively to the native or Teutonic element of the language. Dr. Skeat trusts that the volume contains nothing original. An attentive perusal has convinced us that it does not. Though it contains much that will be new to the reader and student, it is from beginning to end strictly conservative. And rightly so; for science, unlike art, has no room for invention. All that the best minds can do in connection with it is to detect and interpret. This is exactly, as it seems to us, what Dr. Skeat has done; he has done it, too, with the assistance of his own previous work, and that of those who have laboured in the same field before and along with him, in a very masterly fashion. The method he has adopted, though perhaps not strictly accurate from a theoretical point of view, has much to commend it from the point of view of the teacher. In point of fact, indeed, the book is a teacher's book, and has evidently been constructed more for the purposes of teacher and pupil than for the use of advanced students. First of all, we have a chapter on the sources and history of the English language; then an explanation, with specimens, of the three principal Middle-English dialects corresponding to the three principal dialects of the earliest period. The chief Anglo-Saxon vowel-sounds are next discussed, the discussion being confined, for a very obvious reason, to the history of the long vowels. Two chapters are devoted to explaining the relation in which Anglo-Saxon stands, first to the other Teutonic languages, and secondly to the other Aryan tongues. Grimm's law and Verner's are then explained, Grimm's being stated first in its usual, and then in a more simple form. The three following chapters are given to prefixes and suffixes. In the next chapter roots are dealt with. The two chapters which immediately follow this, deal with the highly important subject of English spelling, and are among the most interesting in the volume. Chapters are also devoted to the Celtic and Scandinavian elements, and another to the Old Friesic and Old Dutch. Altogether the work is one of great value, and to the students of the English language who, thanks to the labours of Dr. Skeat and others, are rapidly increasing in numbers, cannot fail to be of immense service. To those who wish to make the best use of the *Etymological Dictionary*, it will be indispensable.

Studies in the Topography of Galloway. By Sir HERBERT EUSTACE MAXWELL, Bart. of Monreith, M.P., &c. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887.

Place-names have long been a favourite subject, if not of study, at least of speculation; and many a wild guess has been made in respect to their meaning and origin. Charles Mackay's amusing account of the derivation of Teddington is well known. Sir Herbert Maxwell mentions one or two other etymological attempts which are scarcely less amusing. 'Lochan-hour,' the name of a small loch in the parish of Glasserton, which, owing to comparatively recent drainage, is apt to become dry in summer and to reappear with the autumn rains, has been supposed to mean loch-in-an-

hour, and the loch has been so named, it has been said, because an hour's rain is sufficient to fill it. The real meaning of the word, however, is the grey tarn, from *lochán odhar*, and the lakelet has in all probability been so named in consequence of the colour of a huge mass of rock lying along its northern shore. Phoenix Park, Dublin, is supposed by most people to owe its name to some connection with the fabled Phoenix; but as a matter of fact 'Phoenix' is, in this case, simply a corruption of *stonn uisc* [finn isk], the clear water, originally the name of the beautiful and perfectly transparent spring well near the Phoenix Pillar, the water of which is now used for supplying the pond near the Zoological Gardens. 'Auld Taggart,' again, the name of a hill in the parish of Inch, may be explained by etymologists of the Teddington School as the hill of some venerable individual named Taggart, but, as Sir Herbert Maxwell points out, its correct derivation is *Allt-t-sagairt*, the priest's glen or stream, a name which, in accordance with a process he subsequently explains, has probably been transferred to it from a neighbouring stream.

In his careful and scholarly introductory essay Sir Herbert Maxwell touches upon several very interesting and very important questions. First of all there is the question of the successive waves of population that occupied both Scotland and the district of Galloway. Adopting the theory which is now very generally accepted, he remarks: 'The Gaels were not the aboriginal inhabitants of the land of Alba. It may be assumed, with something approaching certainty, that they were preceded by a small-boned, long-skulled, dark-haired race, speaking a dialect of Iverian, a language which survives in the Basque Province, and which cannot as yet be assigned to any known family of speech. This people, we may believe, were not overcome, extirpated, or absorbed without a prolonged and intermittent struggle.' But whether their invaders belonged to the Goidhelic or Brythonic branch of the Celtic race is left uncertain. The question is of some interest, and in fact of sufficient importance to deserve careful discussion. So, again, is the question whether the Celts of Galloway were invaded by the Picts. Sir Herbert Maxwell would seem to identify them, and to attribute to the latter the naming of most of the places in Galloway. 'If,' he says, 'the Picts of Galloway spoke the Pictish language, it appears from the evidence of these names to have belonged to the Goidhelic or Gaelic rather than to the Brythonic or Welsh branch, which prevailed in the adjacent territory of Alclyde; indeed the close resemblance borne by our local names to those of Ulster almost compels the assumption that the Picts of Galloway and the Scots of Dalriada spoke a common tongue.' It is quite probable, however, that Galloway owes the majority of its place-names to a race of Celts who preceded the Picts, and that the Picts of Galloway did not use the same tongue as the Scots of Dalriada.

The list of place-names Sir Herbert Maxwell has given includes some 4000 names, many of which are compared with the names of places in Argyllshire and Ireland. The whole of these 4000 fall into five classes: First, a number to which no meaning can at present be assigned, and which are supposed to be survivals from the aboriginal speech, probably greatly altered in form by Celtic tongues and subsequent reduction into English writing; these are referred to a period anterior to the Christian era. Secondly, names derived from the Goidhelic branch of the Celtic tongue; these are by far the most numerous. Thirdly, a limited number of names in the Brythonic branch of Celtic, supposed to have been imported into Galloway from the neighbouring kingdom of Strathclyde during the interval between the Sixth Century and the Eleventh. Fourthly, names obtained from the Anglo-Saxon or from the Old Northern English dialect. Fifthly, names of a Scandinavian origin. Sixthly, names in English or Broad Scots,

not older than the Thirteenth Century. Another very useful but less comprehensive division is got by dividing the names derived from the Gaelic into simple and compound. Those of the first class consist either of a substantive indicative of some natural feature, or of an adjectival derivative from the name of some animal, plant, or natural feature which distinguished the locality. Examples of the first are Clone, from *cluain*, a meadow ; Drum, from *druim*, a ridge ; Blair, from *blár*, a plain. Examples of the other are Blairbuy, from *blár*, a field, and *buidhe*, yellow ; Auchenshinnoch, from *achadh*, a field, and *au sionaich*, of the fox ; Balgown, from *baile*, the ground or house, and *gobhain*, a smith.

For the derivation of a large number of the words Sir Herbert Maxwell has followed the safe guidance of Drs. Reeves, Joyce, and Skeat. A few of the etymologies given are conjectural, but on the whole the work is very carefully done. A similar work done for the whole country would be replete with interest, and might be the means of throwing not a little light on the events and conditions of the past.

Spanish and Italian Folk-Songs. Translated by ALMA STRETT-ELL. Illustrated. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1887.

This is a remarkably dainty little book, beautiful in its binding, printing, and illustrations. There is a maximum of margin with a minimum of print ; but then the print is of the rarest and most striking, if not always of the most agreeable kind. The spirit breathed in one or two of the 'cantes flamencos' is of the very fiercest, and cuts deep and keen like the sharpest knife. But the gipsies all the world over are noted for their intensity, more especially for the intensity of their feelings of revenge ; and the one or two specimens of soleares here given in which these feelings are expressed, show that the Spanish gipsy is not in this respect by any means of a gentler temper than his race is usually supposed to be. Take for instance the following :

'Go to ! may they shoot thee dead !
Let my glances fire the powder,
With my sights the ball be sped.'

Or what can be more fierce, or to use a Scotch word, more 'fell,' than the spirit breathed in the lines :

'If I may not take revenge in life,
In death shall my vengeance be,
For I will seek through all the graves
Until I find out thee.'

Here, however, is one of a different temper :

'When I have lain ten years in death,
And worms have fed on me,
Writ on my bones shall yet be found
The love I bore to thee.'

Tenderer too is the following :

'For all the pains thou causest me
I will not be revenged on thee ;
Since, that I loved thee once so well
Avails thee for a sanctuary.'

The Italian songs have been gathered chiefly from Tuscany and Sicily. Some of these, in fact most of them touch the level of genuine poetry. Here is one from Tuscany, which may be taken as a sample of the rest :

'The moon is come, with lamentations sore,
To make complaint before th' Eternal Love ;
She says that she will stay in heaven no more
Since you have stol'n her splendour from above.
And she laments aloud, with much ado,
That counting o'er her stars, she misses two ;
She seeks, but cannot find them in the skies ;
'Tis you that have them—they are your two eyes.'

The introduction with which the volume opens contains an interesting account of the Gipsy and Italian songs, and justly laments the decay of the art of improvising both in Tuscany and Sicily.

A Venetian Lover. By EDWARD KING. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1887.

Mr. King is already very favourably known as the author of a clever volume of verse entitled *Echoes from the Orient*. *A Venetian Lover* will do much to increase his reputation. Of Mr. King's art as a poet there can be no doubt. The apparently unstudied character of his verse, his simplicity of diction, the absence of rhetorical tricks or artifices, and the strain of intense fervour which pervades the poem, which perhaps justifies a somewhat too great fondness for superlatives, are remarkable. Remarkable, too, is the Venetian lover's story; as he relates it, it is impossible not to sympathize with him. The descriptive parts of the poem are exceptionally good, particularly the description of the ancestral home in Venice, and that of the meeting in the Forum. The incident which sets the lovers free is perhaps a little too sensational, but even here Mr. King's self-restraint does not entirely forsake him. The songs which occur throughout the volume are deserving of special notice. Their lyrical quality is unquestionable, and not the least noteworthy feature about them is their suggestiveness. Altogether *A Venetian Lover* is one of the best poems we have seen from America for a considerable period.

Ogham Inscriptions in Ireland, Wales and Scotland. By the late Sir SAMUEL FERGUSON. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887.

This volume contains the Rhind lectures for 1884, and appearing just after their author has passed away reminds us of the great loss archæology has sustained by his removal from amongst us. The subject with which the lectures deal is beset with extraordinary difficulties, and on this account is not likely to become popular. Like the Rune, the Ogham employed straight strokes easily carved on wood or stone for forming the alphabetic letters; but the original Runic alphabet, though the foundation on which the cryptic Tree-Runes were formed, was not intended to be of a cryptic nature. The Ogham was, and seems, notwithstanding the preservation of the key to its alphabet in the Book of Ballymote, destined to remain so. 'The Ogham,' to use Sir Samuel Ferguson's words, 'notwithstanding the apparent simplicity of its arrangement, has an inherent element of uncertainty, unknown, I believe, in any other alphabet. The distinctive shapes of the letters of the Futhorc, and the slope of the Tree-Rune branches, always assure us against reading the letter-band upside down, or, in the Futhorc, in an order reverse to that intended by the carver. But the nature of the Ogham is such that a digit or group of digits which, looked at from one side, appears below the line, will appear above it, and express a different letter, if looked at from the other; and that, unless there be some sign, as in old Ogham there never is, to indicate from which end of the legend the reading is to commence, a trial reading must be made from each

end as well as each side.' This is not the only difficulty the interpreter of Ogham inscriptions has to deal with. Some inscriptions, like the one dug up from a cave at Monataggart, in the parish of Donoughmore, require to be read backward before anything intelligible can be got out of them. Then there are the difficulties arising from inexact spacings on the part of the carver, and from the fact that most of the inscriptions have suffered from weathering, and are all in a more or less imperfect condition. In short the liability to err in their interpretation is extremely great; and, as Sir S. Ferguson very fairly remarks, 'there is no pursuit in which more room should exist for distrust of one's own observation, or gentleness in dissenting from the observations of others, than this research, in a field where so many accidents of light and position conduce to varieties of impressions on different eyes, and to conflicts of statement among eye-witnesses.' From beginning to end the lectures before us are pervaded by an air of uncertainty. Considering the state of knowledge anything else could scarcely be expected. To pretend that any definite analysis of Ogham texts is at present possible would, as Sir S. Ferguson has very candidly remarked, be premature, and indeed arrogant. They can only be presented as 'inviting to induction rather than as expounding inductive results,' and it says not a little for the scientific character of the volume before us that it is entirely free from dogmatism. Its chief value, however, consists in the fact that it contains a description of all the Ogham texts known to exist in the United Kingdom. Of these Ireland can claim no fewer than close on two hundred, Wales preserves eighteen, two are to be found in the South of England, six are on the mainland of Scotland, and four are in the Orkney and Shetland Islands. The Scottish Oghamic monuments belong to what has been termed the scholastic variety, and in most instances are associated with Picto-Scottish forms of sculpture. Beginning with the most northern Sir Samuel Ferguson first describes the three inscriptions found in Shetland, and then the solitary example found in the island of North Ronaldsay. Those on the Mainland are at Newton, in the Garioch; at Logie and Aboyne, Aberdeenshire; Scoonie in Fife, Golspie in Sutherland; and the Brodie Stone in Elginshire. Incidentally Sir Samuel Ferguson discusses the character and meaning of the sculptures with which most of these are associated, and gives reasons, additional to those already given by Dr. Anderson, for assuming, independently of the symbol of the cross, that they are of Christian and not Pagan origin. So far the value of Ogham inscriptions would appear to be philological rather than historical; but what it is remains to be seen. At present the whole subject of their meaning and value is shrouded in mystery.

Palæolithic Man in North-West Middlesex. By JNO. ALLEN BROWN, F.G.S., &c. Illustrated. London: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

The aim of this volume is chiefly to set before the reader some of the facts on which the prevalent opinion respecting the antiquity of the human race is based. The facts to which Mr. Brown confines himself are such as have come under his own observation while studying the formation of the Thames valley about Ealing and its neighbourhood. These are, to say the least, extremely interesting, for in the course of his investigations he has been able to demonstrate the existence of several successive land surfaces, and to discover not only isolated flint weapons and tools of the palæolithic period, but also an entire workshop with a large quantity of tools and weapons in various stages of manufacture, and apparently in precisely the positions in which they were left by the people who were engaged in making

them. This last discovery was made at Cressfield Road, and though not singular is certainly of importance. Speaking of it Mr. Brown says—'I obtained nearly 500 implements, worked flakes and waste fragments, at the depth of six feet from the surface. They were (as many of them still are) covered with the sandy loam of which the lowest part of the brick earths is here composed; many of them are white, while many of them are more or less discoloured, and a few are entirely so. Most of them appear to have been white, and subsequently mottled and stained of an ochreous tint, from contact with the loamy sand and gravel; some of the specimens have suffered no change, so that the flint is still black. I have seen one or two of the black ones and others taken from the floor while the men have been at work, and I regard the discolouration of the surface of worked flints as an accident of position rather than as a test of age.' Some forty pages are taken up with a recapitulation of the arguments previously advanced for the extreme antiquity of man, but the remainder of the volume is occupied with an account of Mr. Brown's own researches and discoveries, and a not unsuccessful attempt to reproduce the scenery of the Thames valley, and the conditions of its inhabitants during the Palæolithic period. The volume is accompanied by a number of plates representing many of the tools and weapons discovered by Mr. Brown, all of which are clearly and succinctly described. As the work of a local observer the volume has considerable value.

Les Du Cerceau, leur vie et leur œuvre. Par Le Baron Henry de Geymüller. Paris: Jules Rouam; London: Gilbert Wood, & Co., 1887.

The Du Cerceau have been singularly unfortunate. Hitherto very little has been known about them; the father and son have been confounded; the son has been made the father of his own father; and their title to be called architects has been altogether denied. With the assistance of a considerable number of inedited documents, the author of the present volume of the *Bibliothèque Internationale de l'Art* has set himself to lift both Jacques Androuet dit Cerceau and his son Baptiste out of the obscurity into which they have unmeritedly fallen, and to vindicate both their claim to be called architects and their just position in the French Renaissance movement of the Sixteenth Century. Of his success it is hardly necessary to speak. Among the most helpful and valuable of the documents he has employed is a series of sixty-one sketches, covering the two sides of fourteen sheets of paper belonging to the Royal Library at Munich, where they long lay without their authorship being recognised. M. de Geymüller's attention was first called to them towards the close of the year 1884 by Dr. Meyer, the Secretary of the Munich Library, and when they were subsequently forwarded to him, he was able after a careful examination of them, to show that they were beyond doubt the work of Jacques Androuet père, and must have been executed by him in Italy previous to his return to France about the end of 1533. Besides showing the nature of Du Cerceau's studies, these designs, or sketches rather, are valuable as containing a number of hints not to be met with elsewhere respecting some of the principal architectural monuments of Rome. To St. Peter's, then in process of reconstruction he seems to have paid particular attention, and to have had access to some of the original designs for that masterpiece of Christian architecture. The drawings relating to it are in all eleven. Those relating to the Palace of the Roman Chancellor, another of Bramante's great works, number no fewer than twenty-nine. Among the other buildings to which Jacques Androuet was attracted, and to which he

appears to have devoted considerable study, were the Baths of Diocletian, the Farnese Palace, and the Palace built by Raphael for Giovan Battista dell' Aquila. The drawings are often accompanied by notes, sometimes in the hand of Jacques Androuet himself and sometimes in the hand of another, and though consisting of but a few words, are frequently of considerable value. How long Jacques Androuet remained in Italy it is impossible to say, but it was long enough to exercise a marked influence upon his style. He seems in fact to have taken Bramante for his master, and though not a master of the highest order, seems to have been by no means destitute of talent. This is amply borne out by his various publications, though the buildings which were actually erected according to his designs, and under his personal supervision appear to have been comparatively few, a fact for which it is extremely difficult to give anything like a satisfactory account. It would seem indeed, notwithstanding M. de Geymüller's arguments to the contrary, that M. Berty is not far astray in asserting that Jacques Androuet's life was absorbed mainly in the execution of his designs on paper, which as his various publications show were extremely numerous. It may said, however, that all that can be said in his favour is here said by M. de Geymüller, who has gathered together what little is known of Jacques Androuet and his descendants, and in his amply illustrated pages, has given an elaborate account both of him and his works.

James Hepburn, Free Church Minister. By SOPHIE F. F. VEITCH.
Author of *Angus Graeme, Gamekeeper, &c.* London and
Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1887.

This novel bears on its title page the name of Miss Veitch, who thus acknowledges *Angus Graeme, A Lonely Life, Wife or Slave*, and several other works of no mean order in the ranks of imaginative literature. The present novel has all those qualities which distinctly marked its predecessors; the same deep insight into character, and artistic treatment of situation, combined with graphic descriptions of scenery and details which go to form, and are necessary for, the setting of a novel of life and manners in the country. But however varied in character and situation *Angus Graeme* was, we are of opinion that *James Hepburn* is a decided advance upon it. Not only are the characters more varied and sketched with a deeper insight and finer touch, but the writing throughout is better, and the author displays a more complete mastery over her materials, and a keener eye for the ludicrous side of things as seen in the affairs of a small provincial town. James Hepburn, the hero, gets translated from a quiet parish to Mossgiel. Hitherto his life has been very uneventful, but when he assumes the pastorate of the Free Church at Mossgiel his trials begin. First, he is nearly murdered on his way home one night from Strathellon by James Blackwood, a half rascal and half hero, who mistakes him for another whom he suspects of paying addresses to his sweetheart, Mary Warrender, a light coquettish girl, who in the end is drowned by Blackwood, and as she was Mr. Hepburn's servant, his congregation strangely enough begin to spread the report that their minister is not entirely free from the imputation, till Blackwood, whom he had saved by keeping an attempted murder a profound secret, comes forward and confesses to his drowning, in a fit of madness, his sweetheart, Mary Warrender. We need not go into all details, but leave the reader to get the book for himself. The characters of General Farquharson and his wife, Lady Ellinor, are splendidly drawn—he with his stiff, formal, military habit, yet with a

warm, loving heart beneath it all, and she, yearning for her husband's love, yet repelled by his cold exterior. But the main character, as it ought to be, is Mr. Hepburn. We love him from the very first, and sympathize with him. Strong and manly amidst the scandal and gossip of a small town, he shines the very model of what a clergyman should be. He saves Blackwood, a strange, half-mad character, and yet we feel that with all his inconsistencies he is not overdrawn. He steps in and turns Lady Ellinor Farquharson from a shameful fate even at the risk of his own life. This is but a hasty sketch of some points in the novel whose main purpose, if we have rightly divined the author's intention, is to show that a minister by sterling, upright, manly, conduct, and full of the silent preaching of action, can do more, and extend in a greater degree the sublime precept of 'only love can save,' than by preaching in and out of season; in short, the author has written a novel to point out in the words of its motto that 'The essence of sin is selfishness; the essence of selfishness is individualism.'

The Touchstone of Peril. A Tale of the Indian Mutiny. By DUDLEY H. THOMAS. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887.

Mr. Thomas fully merits the award of a 'second edition' which his title page shows that he has received. *The Touchstone of Peril*, nominally a story, would seem to be a narrative, in that form, of actual experiences of the Indian Mutiny, with, presumably, fictitious names and characters introduced. The book is written in a manly, straightforward style, entirely free from that peculiarly vicious form of sensationalism to which such a subject readily lends itself, and, apart from the tragic circumstances of the time, gives a very vivid and interesting—unfortunately we cannot from personal knowledge authoritatively pronounce it correct—sketch of Indian life. The characters alone of Steele and Dacres would make the book well worth reading, as illustrative of the subtle irony of truth—the brilliant favourite relapsing into meanness, and the somewhat ungainly, unprepossessing soldier standing out a born leader of men, and capable of any amount of heroic unselfishness, when the moment of fierce trial comes. Mr. Thomas is a keen and accurate observer. He may, however, mend his literary style. The use of the present tense has always a tendency to vulgarize a story, but when a writer oscillates perpetually between past and present the result is very irritating. A story of so much force, vigour, and interest, as *The Touchstone of Peril* can bear a defect of this sort, though somewhat injured by it; but with a weaker subject it would be a very serious drawback to a book.

Social Aspects of Christianity, by Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., &c. (Macmillan). In the sermons contained in this volume, Dr. Westcott follows up the line of thought he drew out in his recently published *Christus Consummator*. In that volume his aim was to show, as we pointed out in a former number, that the great fact of the Incarnation of our Lord, under various aspects, satisfies and transcends the loftiest aspirations and the largest hopes of men. Here he attempts to show how faith in the historic Gospel, in Christ, born, crucified, ascended, guides, supports, and encourages us in dealing with the problem of social life. Human life, he points out, is essentially spiritual with relations passing beyond the visible into the eternal, and having for its sole foundation that one foundation which is already laid, Christ Jesus, the righteous, in Whose Person and earthly history we have a final revelation of the true relations of man to man. The sermons divide themselves into two parts—one dealing with the

Christian aspects of the elements of social life, and the other with the Christian aspects of its organisation. In the former man's relations in connection with the family, nation, race, and Church are discussed, and in the second, some mediæval and modern attempts to establish the Kingdom of God upon the earth in a visible form. The treatment of these great topics is, as we need hardly say, thoughtful and suggestive, and in some respects the book deserves to be regarded as important. It is impossible to read it carefully without profit.

To the student of the book of Genesis, and even to the reader, if he is able to use the Hebrew Dictionary, Mr. G. J. Spurrell's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis* (Clarendon Press), will prove extremely useful. The notes are for the most part grammatical and but rarely theological. They are brief and pithy, and contain abundant references both for similar uses and constructions, and to other works for further information. Continual reference is made to the LXX. and other Greek versions, to the Targums of Onkelos, Jerusalem and Pseudo-Jonathan, to the Peshitta, and to the two English versions. Special attention has been paid to the syntax, and two appendices have been added, the one on the structure of the book of Genesis, and the other on the names of God.

In this connection we may mention another work issued by the same Publishers—Dr. Wicke's *Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-one so-called Prose Books of the Old Testament*. Among specialists this work will be received with the same favour as the author's previous treatise on *The Three Poetical Books of the Old Testament*, and esteemed as a further sign of the revival of Hebrew studies.

The Pleasures of Life, by Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P. (Macmillan), contains the substance of a number of addresses delivered by the author to the members of various educational institutions. The subjects are such as 'The Duty of Happiness,' 'The Happiness of Duty,' 'The Choice of Books,' 'The Pleasures of Travel,' 'The Blessedness of Friends,' 'Science,' 'The Value of Time,' on all of which Sir John Lubbock discourses with great freshness and sagacity. His pages abound in excellent advice and must have been extremely helpful to those to whom he discoursed. One feature of the little volume is its abundance of quotations. Some of them are probably well known, but containing, as they do, some of the ripest thoughts both of the past and the present, one is glad to get them in so handy a form, and more especially in the excellent setting with which Sir John Lubbock has here provided them. As a companion for the country or for a lonely half-hour, this volume will be extremely acceptable.

The last volume we have received of 'The Story of the Nations' Series' is *Hungary in Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Times*, by Arminius Vambery with the collaboration of Louis Heilprin (Fisher Unwin); and a delightful book it is. The authors claim for it that it is 'The first story of Hungary written in English;' but whether that be the case or not, as a piece of literary work it is admirable. M. Vambery and his collaborateur have been fortunate in their subject; for the history of few countries records so many striking and romantic episodes; and on these they have mainly dwelt, giving a series of pictures at once minute and graphic. From beginning to end there is not a dull page in the volume. It is an excellent introduction to the history of the country. The authors deserve to be complimented on their knowledge of the English language. It is not often that one sees it used as effectively as it is here by two foreigners. Their mastery over it, in fact, is one of the features of the book.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co., have issued a new edition of Dr. Geikie's charmingly instructive volume on *The Scenery of Scotland viewed in connection with its Physical Geology*. Excellent as the original edition was, in its new form the work has undergone very considerable improvement, large parts of it having been re-written, and much new matter having been added. The impression which the work made some quarter of a century ago is still fresh. We have renewed our acquaintance with it with pleasure, and know few books of its kind possessing so profound an interest or so delightfully instructive.

Three Years in Shetland, by the Rev. John Russell, M.A. (Alexander Gardner). Some time ago Mr. Russell spent three years in Shetland as minister of the parish of Whalsay, and has here written down many of the things he observed in that far away corner of the Kingdom. That his book is faultless we cannot say. Most of the faults, though amusing, are scarcely excusable, and are due we suppose either to inexperience or carelessness. But this must be said of them, they are chiefly grammatical, and scarcely affect the value and interest of the book. Mr. Russell was in Whalsay just when the transition period was setting in, and the inhabitants were beginning to give up their primitive habits and to adopt the habits of thought and living imported from the South; his notes are about all things he saw and experienced, his own duties and difficulties, his elders and congregation, schools and schoolmasters, the food, clothing, manners, occupations and condition of the people, the scenery, fauna and flora of the islands, their antiquities and climate, and the consequence is his pages, which are written with the greatest simplicity and the best of feeling, are singularly attractive and induce one to overlook the literary faults we have referred to entirely. We hope that Mr. Russell may have the opportunity of correcting them in further editions.

According to Cocker (Alex. Gardner), is a very handsome volume by Mr. Anderson Smith of Benderloch, on the progress of the art of penmanship, and is illustrated by the reproduction of Cocker's *Penna Volans* and *Mulum in Parvo*, and examples from other works on calligraphy. The plates have been executed with great care. In the essay Mr. Smith develops his ideas respecting the origin and development of handwriting. This subject deserves even a larger treatment than he has here ventured to give it. What he has written only awakens the desire to know more. In France, M. Lecoy de la Marche has recently dealt with the subject at greater length. It is to be hoped that Mr. Smith will turn his attention to it yet more, and give us what may really be called a history of the art of writing, as practised in the Three Kingdoms.

A Second School Poetry Book (Macmillan), is a sequel to Mrs. M. A. Wood's previous volume entitled *A First School Poetry Book*. Here as in its predecessor, the selection has been made with taste and judgment. The pieces chosen are just such, we should say, as children, whether boys or girls, of from eleven to fourteen years of age, will have pleasure in reading, if not in committing to memory. The best writers of all schools of poetry have been selected from. We are glad to see that several poems in Lowland Scotch have been included.

The latest addition to the 'Clarendon Press Series' of School-books is *The Poems of Laurence Minot*, edited with introduction and notes by Mr. Joseph Hall, M.A., a work of sound scholarship and deserving the highest praise. Text, introduction, notes and glossary, are all excellent. We have some doubt whether the work is not too elaborate for a school-book;

but be that as it may, we are glad to be able to welcome it. A good edition of Minot's poems has long been wanting, and Mr. Hall has supplied one.

Among other books we have received the following :—*Free Church Principles*, by the Rev. W. Wilson, D.D. (Macniven & Wallace) ; *A Comparative View of Church Organizations, Primitive and Protestant*, by the Rev. J. H. Rigg, D.D. (T. Woolmer) ; *Solomon: His Life and Times*, by F. W. Farrar, D.D. (Nisbet) ; *Truth and Trinity* (Wyman) ; *The Scriptural Doctrine of the Church*, by D. D. Bannerman, M.A. (T. & T. Clark) ; *A Treatise on the Principle of Sufficient Reason*, by Mrs. P. F. Fitzgerald (Thos. Laurie) ; *A Commentary on the Two Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, by the late Rev. W. Kay, D.D. (Macmillan) ; *The Christ and the Fathers*, by A Historical Scientist (Williams & Norgate) ; *The Anatomy of Negation*, by Edgar Saltres (Williams & Norgate) ; *The First Nine Years of the Bank of England*, by J. E. Thorold Rogers (Clarendon Press) ; *An Eastern Vacation in Greece*, by J. E. Sandys (Macmillan) ; *Social Arrows*, New Edition, by Lord Brabazon (Longmans) ; *Isaure, and other Poems*, by W. S. Ross (Stewart) ; *John Dalrymple*, by D. Paterson (Gillespie Bros.) ; *La Maison de Vie*, trad. par Clemence Couve (Lemerre, Paris) ; *Present Day Tracts*, Vol. viii. (Religious Tract Society) ; *Tolerance*, by Philip Brooks (Macmillan) ; *Matter and Energy*, by B. L. L. (Kegan Paul, & Co.) ; *The Nibelungen Lied*, translated by Alfred G. Foster-Barham (Macmillan).

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (August).—Where are the saints of Protestantism? M. Francis de Pressensé answers the question with a review of the life and work of the late Lord Shaftesbury. If a saint be a man who lives for God and believes that he cannot serve him better than by serving humanity ; if it be the gratitude of the wretched which canonises more effectually than the decrees of the Vatican, no one, he thinks, deserves more fully than Lord Shaftesbury to be inscribed on the calendar of the universal Church. —Under the title 'Alpine Flowers' M. Joseph Bajovar relates a curious little romance in which the unfortunate Louis II. of Bavaria appears as the most idealistic of lovers. The episode is pathetic, but is somewhat marred in the telling by mawkishness of sentiment.—M. Henri Jacottet concludes his sympathetic study of Mrs. Browning.—The jubilee fever appears to have spread even on the continent, and as the result we are presented by M. Léo Quesnel with 'Fifty Years of English History' based on Mr. Thomas Humphry Ward's 'The Reign of Queen Victoria.'—Amongst the other papers which repay perusal are 'The Recent Progress and the Future of Photography,' a third instalment of 'The Court of France and Society in the Sixteenth Century,' and the interesting Russian novel 'The Burning of Moscow.'

BIBLIOTHEQUE ET REVUE SUISSE (September).—M. André Michel points out as the most distinctive feature in contemporary art, the return to the loving study of light. All the best men are directing their attention to the realization of luminous harmonies and to the new poetry of the broad day.—It may be interesting to cyclists to know that the archives of Nuremberg contain, under

date 1633, mention of a primitive velocipede. In 1703 a countryman of Tell's, Stephen Tarfler of Altdorf, made a tricycle to take him to church. In 1774 a four-wheeled machine attracted some attention in England; and in 1816 Baron Drais de Saverbrun contrived what was perhaps the *point de départ* of our modern cycles. M. Ed. Lullin begins with these details a readable article on the subject.—'A Case of Conscience,' a novel by M. Paul Gervais, opens attractively; further instalments are given of 'The Burning of Moscow,' and 'French Society in the 16th Century'; and the sketch of Lord Shaftesbury is brought to a close.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (August and September).—The table of contents for August is headed by a continuation of M. E. Durkheim's article, 'La Science positive de la Morale en Allemagne.' The only writer whose system of Ethics is considered in this instalment is Wundt. According to Wundt, says M. Durkheim, there is but one religious idea, and the various religions which have succeeded each other in history have tended more and more towards the realization of it; there is one moral ideal which is being developed through all positive systems of ethics; there is one humanity of which individual societies are but temporary and symbolical incarnations. Consequently, in order to arrive at a knowledge of what morality and religion are, Wundt examines them under the relatively perfect form which they have attained amongst civilized nations. When dealt with in this manner the question allows of but one solution. If all religions and all systems of ethics are specifically similar, and tend towards one and the same end, it follows as a necessary consequence that this end must recede in proportion as society advances towards it, else we should have to admit that a day must come when progress will be consummated. To this M. Durkheim takes exception. He maintains that there are as many standards of morality as there are social types, and that each race has its own end towards which it continues to advance until the day when another race takes its place and begins its course towards a new goal.—Under the title of 'Le fétichisme dans l'amour,' M. Binet contributes a study in morbid psychology.—The psychological conditions of historical knowledge are considered by M. Seignobos in a very interesting paper, in which he argues that historical knowledge is an indirect knowledge which can only be obtained by reasoning. The documents upon which this reasoning is based only show us, he asserts, psychological operations. History can only arrive at a conclusion by again going through these psychological operations, and this, again, it can only do by means of a series of psychological analyses and of analogical arguments of which the major is in each case borrowed from descriptive psychology.—In the September number M. Lionel Dauriac devotes a lengthy article to the examination of M. Charles Renouvier's lately published *Sketch of a Systematic Classification of Philosophical Doctrines*. The work is pronounced to be the best defence yet put forward of the 'philosophy of contingency.'—Besides two papers in continuation, the one of 'Le fétichisme dans l'amour,' the other of 'La Science positive de la Morale en Allemagne,' there is a valuable and interesting sketch, by M. Tannery, of the Cosmogony of Empedocles.

L'ART (July, August, September).—The two numbers which represent the first of these three months is unusually rich in excellent illustrations, the full-page etchings 'Orpheline du Noord-Holland' and 'La Sortie' being particularly worthy of praise. As regards the text, however, it is less satisfactory, for it contains nothing beyond notices of the 'Salon.'—The August number contains an interesting paper in which M. Arthur Heulhard examines the truth of the legend which connects the arm-chair preserved at Palluan with Rabelais. The writer allows that the celebrated humourist did visit the village, but sees no proof in favour of the authenticity of the arm-chair.—This is followed by an able and interesting description of the bas-reliefs executed by Rude for the castle of Tervueren—now a ruin—in Belgium. M. Bertrand points out as particularly characteristic of Rude's work, his truth to nature and his fidelity to the ancient writers from whom he drew his inspiration. A number of excellent illustrations allow us to follow the critic closely in his remarks on the

reliefs representing the history of Achilles, and to admire the genius displayed in this marble translation of Homer.—The second number contains M. Eugène Müntz's study of Leonardo da Vinci's 'Adoration of the Magi.'—There is also a further notice of the 'Salon' and the beginning of a story: 'La Danaë.'—The September part which opens with yet another instalment of M. Paul Leroi's 'Salon,' contains a paper on 'Industrial Art in the Provinces.' M. J. B. Giraud points out the importance of this branch, and urges the necessity of encouraging it by national grants, in order that French artists and French manufacturers may hold their own against foreign competition.—M. Germain Bapst relates, in an interesting sketch, the circumstances under which Francis I. formed the nucleus of what was to become the crown diamonds of France. A good deal of the article is but a repetition of what the writer has already published in another magazine.—A charming etching: 'A family of Cats,' deserves special mention; it is by Eug. Gauguin after a painting by Eug. Lambert.—M. Bapst contributes another notice of some of the crown diamonds. A postscript informs us that this and the former article are chapters of a work shortly to be published by Messrs. Hachette & Co.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3 1887).—Professor G. Maspero takes occasion from the publication of M. E. Naville's splendid edition of the *Book of the Dead*, issued last year under the auspices of the German Government, by Asher & Co., Berlin, to give in the pages of this *Revue*, a short history of the undertaking, an elaborate summary and analysis of the various chapters of the Book itself, and an exposition of the meaning of each chapter, and of its place in the ritual of the funeral ceremonies. He discusses too the various questions which the different copies of this work, in whole or in part, that have been discovered, give rise to among Egyptologists, and passes some critical remarks on the work of M. Naville and his fellow labourers, in the production of this edition. Of the four scholars fixed on by the Oriental Congress, which met in London in 1874, to undertake the task of such a publication as this, M. Naville alone has been spared to see it completed, and Professor Maspero pays a just tribute to the scholarship of each, and especially to that of M. Naville, on whom has rested in reality the whole burden of the preparing of this edition. Taken along with the previous article in number 2 of this year's issue of this *Revue*, on the religious ceremonies observed by the Egyptians at the funeral of their dead, this paper of M. Maspero's will form an invaluable guide to the student of Egyptian beliefs as to a future life, and an excellent handbook to the reader of the work itself on which it is a commentary.—M. L. Masebieau discusses the vexed question as to whether the *Apology* of Tertullian or the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix was the earlier written and therefore the more original work. He decides for that of Tertullian, and gives several very substantial reasons for his opinion.—Several recent works of considerable interest to the students of the history of religions are reviewed by the editor and others, and the usual summaries of Magazine articles and papers follow, with the Chronique and Bibliography of the preceding two months.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1887).—In 1884 Professor Loeschke of Dorpat announced, as a discovery he had made, the existence of a golden in the Athenian pantheon called Basileia, and whom he identified with Cybele. M. P. Decharme criticises the merits of this pretended discovery, and shows how that archaeologist has been led into error.—The recently discovered sarcophagus of Labnit at Sidon, forms the subject of a short article from the pen of M. Hartwig Derenbourg, in which he gives a transcription and translation, with explanatory and philological notes, of the inscription the sarcophagus bears.—M. E. Lefebvre furnishes an interesting account of the significance of the 'egg' in the Egyptian Religion, in the course of which he takes occasion to show that its mystery has had its influence on the thought and customs of other religions as well.—M. Paul Regaud discusses briefly the meaning of the vedic word 'rta,' and traces it to its root significance of 'putting in motion.'—M. L. Horat gives the first part of an exegetical study on the Book of Deuteronomy. In this section of it he gives a minute analysis of the contents of the book, and

endeavours to show by comparison of its various parts that it is not—not even the so-called 'kernel' or 'original form' of the work (on which critics have been until recently almost unanimous) viz. chaps. xii., xxvi.—the work of one author, but a conglomerate of various laws and narratives gathered together from various sources and arranged in a very loose way. M. Horst subjects each division of the book to a searching scrutiny, and attempts to assign the various groups of laws and historical narratives to their original sources.—M. Georges Lafaye resumes his descriptive account of the recent archaeological discoveries in Athens and neighbourhood, begun in the No. 2 of this year's issue of the *Revue*. The other articles are 'L'Etat religieux de la Mingrelie,' by M. J. Mourier; 'La morale religieuse chez les Musulmans,' which is a translation of Mehemet Said Effendi's *Akhlaqi-Hamide*. It is by M. J. A. Decourdemanche, who furnishes a preface to it. M. Clermont Ganneau writes in regard to a notice of Smend and Socin's recent publication on the Moabite Stone which appeared in this *Revue*, and endeavours to correct some misrepresentations or mistakes made, as he thinks, by the author of that notice. In the course of his letter he merely mentions the Rev. A. Löwy's article on the subject of this stone, which appeared in the April number of this *Review*, and is content to describe it as an '*elucubration insensée*.' M. A. Carriere, the author of the notice complained of replies. The *Chronique* of the two months and summaries of papers read before Learned Societies, bearing on the subject of religious history, follow, and with the Bibliography of the two months complete the number.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (July).—A third instalment of M. de Mazade's 'Un Chancelier d'ancien régime' is devoted to what is styled 'The diplomatic reign of M. de Metternich,' and includes the period from 1815 to 1828.—An essay which cannot fail to prove interesting to English readers is that which M. Emile Montégut devotes to John Aubrey, who, now-a-days is probably best known as one of the first members of the Royal Society. It is not, however, in this capacity that M. Montégut considers him; he devotes his article to the work on Apparitions, Magic, Charms, etc., published by Aubrey about the end of the seventeenth century, and from these quaint pages draws a very vivid sketch of popular superstitions at that time.—Continuing the very able study begun in a late number, M. Daubrée here proceeds to examine the part played by subterranean waters in the formation of minerals.—M. Michel Bréal follows in a paper on the history of words which contains numberless examples of the strange changes through which some of the most familiar expressions have gone before assuming their present meaning.—In the mid-monthly part one article deserves special notice; it is that in which, continuing his sketch of Protestant Associations in Paris, M. Maxime Du Camp shows the work done by the Deaconesses, and also in the establishment bearing the strange name 'la cité du soleil.'

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (August).—The opening pages of the first number are devoted to the sixth but not yet final instalment of the Duc de Broglie's 'Etudes Diplomatiques.' It considers the consequences of the battle of Fontenoy, and brings us down to the period of the evacuation of Germany by the French troops.—The next contribution is also a continuation. It is the third in a series of studies in ecclesiastical history and is devoted to an examination of the edict of Milan issued by the Emperor Constantine in 313. As regards this famous document M. Gaston Boissier is of opinion that whilst inspired by the emperor's Christian teachers, certain peculiar expressions which occur in it must be attributed to the Pagan officials, by whom it was drawn up.—M. Paul Janet devotes a lengthy article to the origin of Comte's system of philosophy, and shows to what extent he was indebted to Saint-Simon, d'Alembert, Bacon, and Condorcet.—In continuation of his sketch of 'Modern Oceania,' M. de Varigny gives a very graphic and interesting description of the Banks' Islands.—M. Maxime Du Camp in continuation of his interesting description of the charitable institutions of Paris gives an account of the homes and infirmaries founded by Jewish charity. It is almost needless to state that the name of Rothschild occurs at almost every page. Amongst other incidental details it is mentioned

that the Jewish population of Paris amounts to 45,000 and is about two-thirds of the whole Jewish population of France.—'La Religion en Russie,' from the pen of M. Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, is concluded in a third instalment which deals with the various ceremonies and examines the images in the churches from an artistic point of view.—M. de Varigny adds another section to his 'Modern Oceania.' Besides New Caledonia, Australia, and New Zealand, he describes some of the islands in the Pacific, and furnishes some very interesting and instructive information concerning the formation of coral reefs.—After a long illness, during which he was, however, able to continue his valuable researches into the state of the French Army in 1789, M. Albert Duruy has been removed by death, and the sad news is communicated in the same number which contains the third part of his able production.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (September).—The article to which English readers of the *Revue* will probably turn first is that which M. Filon—who, as we find from the general title, has undertaken to examine and criticise the works of our historians—devotes to Mr. Froude. As might almost be expected, he joins issue with him on every point. He is particularly bitter when he comes to speak of the 'English in Ireland'; as regards Mr. Froude's sympathy with Germany in 1870, it is scarcely necessary to indicate the feelings which it calls forth in the French writer. To this part of his essay, M. Filon appends a note containing the statement of a fact, if it really be a fact, which we confess was unknown to us. It is to the effect that when the French Imperial family came to England, Carlyle offered to superintend the education of the Prince Imperial. We are told that the only answer to this strange proposal was a melancholy shrug of the shoulders on the part of Napoleon.—An interesting, though in parts, somewhat fanciful paper by M. Antoine de Saporta sets forth certain theories with regard to the interior of our globe.—A sudden transition takes us, with M. de Varigny still for our guide, from the islands described in last month's instalment of 'Modern Oceania' to the Asian Archipelago. The descriptions of Sumatra, Borneo, and the Celebes, are fully up to the high standard which the writer has reached in the preceding sections.—Amongst the other contributions to the number may be mentioned a further addition to the Duc de Broglie's 'Études Diplomatiques,' an article by M. Valbert on 'Ranke and Frederic William IV.,' and finally a poem 'Une mauvaise Soirée,' by M. Coppée.—The last of the quarter's numbers, though it contains no article of surpassing interest, has none, on the other hand, but is eminently readable. This applies particularly to M. Maxime Du Camp's contribution in which, with his usual *verve*, he continues his sketch 'La Bienfaisance Israélite à Paris.' No better proof could be given of his consummate skill than the variety which he has succeeded in imparting to a series of articles on subjects so similar as the charitable institutions of the several religious denominations represented in the French capital.—M. Emile Fauget deserves considerable praise for the originality which he displays in his treatment of so well-worn a subject as Madame de Staël. Perhaps no pithier and truer appreciation of her could be given than that with which the writer closes his essay: 'C'était un esprit européen dans une âme française.'—Although M. Camille Bellaigue's article 'La Religion dans la Musique,' can scarcely be thoroughly appreciated by any but specialists, it may safely be recommended to the least musical of general readers; as a literary production merely, even apart from its merit as a musical criticism, it cannot fail fully to repay perusal.—In an excellent study to which he gives the somewhat misleading title, 'Le Naturalisme aux États-Unis,' M. Bentzon, whose name we have frequently mentioned in connection with American literature, examines the works of Thoreau, Burrough, Lowell, and Sarah Orne Jowett.—'Villars, Diplomate' and a sketch descriptive of the condition of actors in France during the eighteenth century, complete the number.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (July).—The first of the five numbers for July opens with a paper in which M. Lothar Meyer sketches the theories started at various times, notably by Berthollet, Berzelius, Thomsen, and Oswald, to account for the phenomenon of chemical affinity. Chemistry is represented in the fifth number also, by a lecture which M. Malard devotes to an exposition of the

principles of crystallography.—The section devoted to Geography contains but one article. It is contributed by M. G. Rolland whose subject is the colonisation of the Sahara.—M. A. Arnaudau discusses the possibility of constructing a suspension tube for postal purposes, between Dover and Calais and seems to entertain no doubts as to the practicability of the scheme.—In a most interesting paper Dr. Despine communicates certain observations made by his uncle Dr. Antoine Despine almost half a century ago, by which he endeavours to establish the theory that electricity is greatly increased in districts where cosmic disturbances take place, whilst, on the other hand it is diminished or even annulled in quarters remote from the seat of these earthquakes.—Two excellent biographical sketches will be found in numbers 2 and 5 respectively. In the former of these M. P. Deherain traces the career of Boussingault, the eminent scientist whose labours may be said to have created agricultural chemistry. In the latter M. A. Richet pays a fitting tribute to the memory of the late Dr. Gosselin.—A mathematical paper contributed by M. G. Milhaud and based on a treatise by Helmholtz deals with arithmetical axioms which it reduces to five.—M. S. Calloni gives a careful summary of the researches which have enabled Professor Pavesi, of Pavia, to prove that the migrations of the tunny are only bathymetrical, and that its appearance in the Atlantic is purely accidental.—The third number contains a couple of articles which though thoroughly scientific, may be recommended to the general reader; one of them explains the physiological conditions of the flight of birds; the other gives some very interesting details concerning leprosy in the Hawaiian islands.—One of the most interesting and instructive contributions is that which bears the signature of M. Léo Errera and which sets forth a new theory of sleep. Briefly summed up it amounts to this. In all our tissues activity generates substances more or less analogous to alkaloids, possessing narcotic qualities. By the accumulation of these ponogenetic substances the nerve centres are gradually reduced to inactivity. During the period of rest consequent on this these substances are removed by oxydation and the centres restored to their normal energy.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (August).—In a paper which he entitles: 'Le Rôle des Sciences et des Lettres dans l'Instruction secondaire' M. Carl Vogt deals with a subject which, in this country also, is exciting considerable interest, the relative value of classics and mathematics in secondary education. The writer states both sides of the question with great clearness and impartiality. He does not give his own opinion in so many words, but he predicts the ultimate success of the utilitarian view and does not seem greatly to regret it. Incidental mention of another important subject, that of over-pressure in schools, draws from him the opinion that this is due less to the number of home lessons than to the number of distinct and unconnected subjects over which they range.—The same number—the first—contains a very interesting article in which M. Meunier shows that the use of dogs for military purposes is not new.—Two of the articles in the number bearing the date of the 13th of August bear English signatures, that of Mr. W. Crooks whose lecture on 'The Genesis of Elements' is reproduced, and that of Mr. Romanes who records some very interesting experiments which he made with a view to testing the acuteness of the sense of smell in dogs.—The same number further contains a biographical paper by M. Rietsch who has chosen for his subject the influence of microbes in nature, and a sketch of the labours undertaken and the results obtained by M. Chambulent who, within a space of fifty years has transformed the 'landes' or sandy wastes of Gascony into forests of oak and fir roughly estimated at 225 millions of francs.—Ethnography claims but one paper; it is contributed by M. Edmond Planchut and gives an interesting account of the Negritos and other savage tribes of the island of Luzon.—In the last of the month's, numbers the most important articles are respectively by M. Kucharzewski and M. Paulham. The former gives a sketch of the life of Philippe de Girard, the latter treats the somewhat abstruse subject of 'Conscience in Societies.'

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (1888 Erstes Heft).—This number has just come to hand as we go to press, and we can therefore give only the list of its contents. The first article is by Dr. Julius Köstlin, 'Religion nach dem

Neuen Testament mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Verhältniss des Sittlichen und Religiösen, und auf das Mystische in der Religion. The second article is by Dr. W. Beysschlag, 'Die Apokalypse gegen die jüngste kritische Hypothese in Schütze genommen.' Dr. G. Kramer treats of Zinzendorf's 'Versuch Wittenberg und Halle zu versöhnen.' Herr. K. Belling gives us a short exegetical study on 1 John iii. 9. Dr. Buckwald clears up, from a MS. discovered by him in the library of Zuickau, an obscure passage in Luther's 'Actis Augustania.'—The books reviewed are Carl Holstein's 'Die synoptischen Evangelien nach der Form ihrer Inhalt,' by A. Schlatter; and Dr. W. Hermann's 'Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott,' by Dr. Hermann Weiss.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Vicertes Heft, 1887).—Professor Hermann Schmidt of Breslau continues his paper on the growth and development of creeds in the Christian Church. Here he discusses the principal differences between the theological systems of the early and of the Reformed Churches, and traces these differences to the circumstances that conditioned, if not caused, their emanation.—Dr. Bratke, Privat-Docent, also at Breslau, gives an interesting analysis of Clement of Alexandria's writings to show how his minute acquaintance with the Mithraic, Eleusinian and other 'Mysteries' reflects itself in all his teaching, and coloured even his theological ideas. He does not regard Clement's intimate knowledge of those cults as a proof of his having been one of the initiated prior to his conversion. He thinks he derived all his information as to them from a work on the subject, very popular in his day, by Diagoras of Melos.—Herr Pfarrer Reimpell of Lassahn discusses the meaning of the important verb *κατέχω* in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and Dr. Buchwald the text of Luther's sermons on the Book of Genesis. An appreciative review of Paul Christ's *Lehre vom Gebet nach dem Neuen Testament*, completes the number.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (August and September).—The greater number of Goethe's biographers, at least the best known of them, Lewes, Herman Grimm, Düntzer, Stahr and Goedecke, have all written severe things of Elizabeth Schönmeyn, the Lili of the poems, and pictured her as, at best, but a flirt and a coquette. As a protest against what he considers an unjust verdict Herr Bielschowsky re-opens the whole question and, drawing his arguments from Goethe's own words, endeavours to prove that Lili was, on the contrary, most affectionate and considerate in her treatment of the poet, and that she was neither directly nor indirectly responsible for the breaking off of their engagement. Herr Bielschowsky undoubtedly makes out a strong case for the fair client whose cause he has chivalrously espoused. But, apart from the merits or demerits of this special incident, the details given with regard to Lili's later life as Frau von Turckheim, her courageous conduct during the troubles of the French Revolution, her devotion to her husband, and her affection for her children, lend an additional charm to this most interesting paper.—Wilhelm Scherer, whose death in the early part of August, 1886, deprived Germany of the greatest of her philologists, of a man whose name will be remembered with those of Jakob Grimm, Karl Lachmann and Karl Müllenhoff, has supplied Herr Julius Hoffory with the subject for an excellent biographical and critical essay. He allows that the German savant's character was made up of such apparently contradictory qualities that it is difficult for even his friends to bring them together into a harmonious whole. But he maintains that his failings and defects were insignificant as compared with his sterling qualities. If he was a sharp and uncompromising opponent, he was also a fast friend.—'Die Norrenwelt der Bühne,' which bears the signature of Fr. Helbig, is an interesting study of the comic element in the drama. It traces the descent of the Jeremy Diddlers and Paul Prys of the modern stage through Molière and Shakspeare from their ancestor in the early drama where, as is pointed out, he always bore the name of the popular national dish, Hanswurst in Germany, Pickelhering in Holland, Jean Pottage in France, Signor Maccaroni in Italy and Jack Pudding in England.—Herr Hermann Vámbéry contributes an instructive paper descriptive of the railway which the Russians have constructed from the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea through what was lately called, in the House of Commons, Turco-

mania, and as far as the banks of the Oxus.—Herr F. von Zobeltitz also takes us to distant regions in an article which he devotes to Tunis and East Algeria. Thence, with Herr Bruno Beheim-Schwarzbach as guide, we walk through the streets and examine the public buildings of Sydney. In both these contributions the illustrations are profuse and particularly interesting.—The Algerian sketch is concluded in the September number.—An unsigned paper brings a valuable contribution to the iconography of Goethe; ten excellent engravings show the poet at various dates of his career from 1762 to 1832.—Under the title 'New Stars,' a paper by Herr Wilhelm Schütte explains the probable origin of the stars which have at various times been discovered in parts of the heavens where none had been observed previously.—The 'literary study' which Herr Ernst Wechsler devotes to the Countess Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, is in so far welcome that it gives some details concerning a distinguished literary character, but a pretentious and high-flown style brimful of mythological allusions and references to Apollo and the Muses make it but heavy reading.—A short contribution by Herr Friedrich Presigke indicates the ceremonies observed by the Egyptians at the beginning and completion of their public buildings.—Light literature is well represented by Herr Hieronymus Lorm, Adolf Schmittthener, and Wilhelm Berger.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (August).—The continuation of the serial 'Schönheit' is followed by an interesting communication from Herr Bernhard Seuffert who brings to light some half-a-dozen charming letters addressed to Wieland by his young friend Sophie Brentano and adds a few details of the career of the beautiful and accomplished girl, whose friendship forms so touching an episode in the poet's life, and who lies in the same grave with him in the little garden of Ossmanstadt.—The July number contains the first and the August part the last instalment of an exceedingly valuable sketch of the life and times of the Landgrave Ernest of Hessen-Rheinfels. This petty ruler of a diminutive German State, though a man of undoubted talent, was too listless to play a very conspicuous part in active politics. Neither can it be looked upon as anything but a gain for Germany that he did not; a man who, whilst professing ardent patriotism was in receipt of a yearly pension from Louis XIV., in return for which he was to give passage to a French army whenever called upon to do so, may be credited with any treason. His personal history, though interesting, is therefore not edifying. But the incidental details as to the state of Germany are exceedingly valuable. Taken as a whole the sketch is an important addition to the history of the seventeenth century.—Though but a summary of a work lately published in Paris, the article entitled 'Geschichte einer vornehmen Dame im achtzehnten Jahrhundert' is delightful reading and will doubtless induce many to become better acquainted with the 'great lady' by the perusal of her diary as edited by M. Lucien Perey. The 'grande dame' is the Princesse de Ligne.—'Fanny Lewald' contributes what she modestly calls 'Reminiscences of Franz Liszt,' though the copiousness and variety of the details which an acquaintance of nearly forty years with the great musician enables her to set before us might almost justify the more ambitious title of 'biography.' This first instalment deals chiefly with Liszt and his connection with Weimar. One section, however, is devoted to a charming description of a summer stay in Heligoland.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (September).—If the second part of the 'Reminiscences of Franz Liszt' scarcely reaches the level of the first, the reason is not to be found in any shortcoming on the writer's part. The truth is that the years which Liszt spent in Rome cannot compare in interest with the first part of his career, and though writing as enthusiastically as before of the 'abbé,' 'Fanny Lewald' distinctly fails to call up the same sympathy and admiration.—Drawing his materials from unpublished letters, Herr Reinhold Koser has drawn up a most interesting sketch of Sophie Charlotte, the first Queen of Prussia. Amongst the political events on which her correspondence with her mother throws some light, may be mentioned the fall of the Elector Frederick's Minister, Danckelman. Some interesting details—not greatly to his credit—are

also given concerning the early years of Frederick William I.—Lady Blennerhassett devotes considerable space to a summary of Mr. Humphry Ward's 'Reign of Queen Victoria.'—'Station Burgtheater' is the title which Herr S. Schlesinger gives to a sketch of Wilbrandt's career as director of a theatre.—Herr Gustav Karpeles communicates a most interesting document. It is an obituary notice written by Heinrich Laube in 1846, when a false report of Heinrich Heine's death was circulated through Germany. It was naturally set aside by Kolb, the editor of the 'Allgemeine Zeitung,' to whom it had been submitted. Though repeatedly requested to return the manuscript he omitted to do so and does not appear to have known or greatly cared what had become of it. After lying hidden for forty years, the essay was lately discovered in a collection of autographs, and is now for the first time published. Quite apart from this the article is interesting as containing as impartial an estimate of Heine as has ever yet been written.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—To judge from the last two numbers of this periodical one would say that the revolt against theological authority on the continent is now in a stage in which its success must be slower and more doubtful than hitherto. The Received Texts of the Scriptures, the Massoretic, and the Greek of our New Testament are being subjected to an enquiry in which no MS. authority is recognised as final, but conjecture has a free hand. Two German works are noticed by Dr. Kuenen in the September number, the new commentary by Klostermann on Samuel and Kings, and Dr. Ryssel's Enquiry as to the text and the genuineness of Micah, in both of which the Hebrew text is very freely dealt with. Dr. Manen writes in the July and September numbers on Marcion's alleged alteration of the text of Galatians, and maintains that not Marcion but orthodox Church writers took liberties with S. Paul's work, and that we may recognise in Marcion's text of Galatians, in at least many instances, the original form of the epistle, in which it is far clearer and more intelligible than we now have it. On the detail we cannot enter here, but we may say that Dr. Manen appears to us to make out his case in at least several passages. The result is to make S. Paul a good deal less of 'a cankered carle,' as we have heard heard him called, than the student of his writings often finds him. A great deal has been done of late to simplify the text in the Corinthian epistles also; and it looks as if some day we might be presented with a 'Paul made easy,' an edition of his works free from those features of style which laid him open to the criticism of his brother Apostle. Commentaries would then be very much shortened, but a controversy might arise which would more than counterbalance this benefit, between the followers of the easy Paul and those of the hard Paul. Sincerely speaking, we must be glad that the Bible as it is holds the field so stoutly, and that the danger from these Cossacks of theology is so remote. The dispute as to the period of Joel, and the character of his prophecy, about the first in the series, or about the last when prophecy was degenerating into apocalypse, still goes on. Dr. Matthes defends the latter view once more in the July Tijdschrift. Dr. Manen gives in September a brief but appreciative notice of Cheyne's 'Job and Solomon,' not entering on criticism, but promising to avail himself of the help of the book for the last volume of his 'Enquiry.'

DE GIDS—(June and July)—contain a contribution to the social problem by Cort v. d. Linden, who considers the present situation most critical and compares it to the time of the decadence of the Roman Empire, only it is less hopeful, there being no fresh vigorous nations ready to supplant the effete ones. Repressive, clerically supported conservatism only aggravates the danger, and nothing is to be expected of the prevalent *laissez faire* liberalism, still less of socialism which is an unrealisable ideal leading inevitably to anarchy. The only hope is in steady extension of freedom to the masses. In support of this he adduces the history of free nations, also Darwinism, which has proved that the highest developments are the result of freedom—it is the oppressed who sink. In the absence of any hope beyond the grave, the greatest present good of the greatest number must be sought, and freedom is an essential condition of progress in material and social wellbeing. For the State therefore freedom is the goal

beyond which there is nothing to aim at, but this is not inconsistent with much interference with individual liberty for the sake of giving the weak a fair field.—In a paper discussing the report of an official investigation of the Industries of Holland, heart-piercing disclosures are made as to the condition of the work-people, especially women and boys in certain potteries and glassworks, as well as in tobacco and flax factories, though in many cases there is nothing to censure.—This is followed up (Aug. and Oct.) by a sketch of the Life and Labours of Lord Shaftesbury.—Another biographical sketch is of Marie Baah-kirtseff, a young Russian lady whose precocious genius blossomed only to fade in death, before the promise of her artistic powers could bear fruit.—The September number contains a paper on Old French Miracle Plays of Jean Bodel and Adam de la Hale, etc.—Under the title of *Figaro*, a series of articles treats of Beaumarchais and the latest biographical disclosures concerning him. The point of view chosen is that of M. Taine's description of him as *faiseur charlatan gamin* and *polisson*.—There is also an able sketch of the lifework and characters of Groen v. Prinsterer and Van der Bruggen, tracing the influence of their very diverse views on educational and other subjects, down to the present in Dutch political history.—Miss A. S. C. Wallis' translation of the strange Hungarian dramatic work, 'The tragedy of Man,' by Madách is favourably criticised. This poem begins with Adam and Eve tempted by Lucifer in Paradise, and after the Fall Adam demands the fulfilment of the promise that they shall be as gods. He is then granted a knowledge of the future of his race and strangely passes as actor and spectator through a variety of experiences in which he is successively Pharaoh, Miltiades, Sergiolus, Tancred, Replez, and tastes of every mode of life such as the luxury of ancient Rome and London, and the life of a Phalaustery where Plato acts as cowherd, and finally after soaring among the planets, he finds himself an Esquimo on barren icefields, but this is more than he can endure and he begs to be restored to his place outside the gates of Paradise. In despair he is about to throw himself from a cliff but is restrained by Eve, who is about to become a mother, and finally together they listen to the voice of God, which bids them struggle on and be true to the Highest.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Sept. 1).—In an article entitled 'The Work of a Madman,' F. De Renzi gives an account of the three magnificent castles built by the late King of Bavaria, praising them highly and refusing to believe in the insanity of their founder. The writer regrets that Bavaria will never have another sovereign sufficiently 'mad' to complete the beautiful work.—F. Bertolini, with the assistance of inedited documents, seeks to arrive at the truth of the origin of the Neapolitan revolution of 1820.—F. d' Ovidio writes on university questions, and G. Beloch advocates a future 'economical history' of Italy, which he advises should be commenced by treating special and important parts, the chief being the problem of the population, to which he contributes his share by rapidly sketching the increase of the population in ancient times. Among other conclusions, the writer believes that the population of the actual kingdom in the third century B.C., amounted to about six millions, certainly not less than five and not more than seven millions. After the wars of Hannibal the number of *Roman citizens* sank from 280,000 to 114,000, and the decrease was still more marked in the allied States. Forty years after the peace the number of Roman citizens had risen to 337,000, after which began a decline caused by the substitution of slaves for free workmen; this decline, considering the profound peace which then prevailed was a grave symptom. In the year 69 B.C., when all the allied States, except Cisalpine Gaul, had been incorporated with the Roman State, the first census taken gave a total of 910,000 Roman citizens. Under Augustus in 28 B.C., there were counted four million Roman citizens, for the right of citizenship had been extended to all Cisalpine Gaul. In the year 14 A.D. there were five millions, and under Claudius in 47 A.D. six millions, which total probably included both sexes and all ages, otherwise it could not be explained. After the census in the time of Claudius, no official report is met with that can throw light upon the changes in the population of Italy. The general decadence in civilization included the decadence of statistics.

The historians of the Decline and the annalists of the Middle Ages entirely lose the faculty of understanding what a great number signifies, which faculty is rare in all times. Procopius relates in cold blood that the Goths killed in Milan no less than 30,000 men, without reckoning the women, and that the African wars of Justinian cost the lives of five millions of the inhabitants of those provinces. It is evident that the number of the population of Italy in the Middle Ages cannot be obtained from such sources. After these dark times, the first official statistics dawn upon us towards the end of the Thirteenth Century, in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. It refers to a tax imposed on the various communes in relation to the population. In 1275, there was raised from the tax a little more than 60,000 ounces of gold, and, as the tax was levied at the rate of a quarter of an ounce on every domestic hearth, this would make 240,000 hearths we get a population of 1,200,000, which is no doubt below the truth. In 1561, the population would be 2,600,000 almost the third part of the present population. During the second half of the Fifteenth Century, the population of the actual kingdom may have been eleven millions or rather more. From that time an increase commenced which still continues. In 1770 the population had risen to more than 17 millions, an increase of 25 per cent in the course of the century. Still this increase is only half of that verified in the present century. The writer then goes on to notice the development of the principal cities. During the early times of the Roman Empire, Capua was second only to Rome, and Ostia and Pozzuoli almost equal to Capua. At the end of the fourth century A.D. Milan took the place of second city of Italy, and after the fall of Rome, it became the first in all Italy and so remained till the beginning of the sixteenth century. After the Middle Ages Venice came next to Milan, possessing a population of 200,000. Rome and Palermo, towards 1600 had each 100,000 inhabitants; Florence and Genoa from 70 to 80,000; Bologna and Verona from 50 to 60,000. But Naples, notwithstanding the Spanish oppression, excelled all with a population of 268,000, and at the end of last century it had 400,000. Turin, which now occupies the fourth place among Italian cities had only a population of 36,000 in 1631. The development of Leghorn has been still more rapid, for in 1562 it was only a village with scarcely 5000 inhabitants. It must be remembered that in 1500, a city with a population of 200,000 had the same relative importance as now a city of a million inhabitants. And at that time there were only three cities in Europe besides Milan and Naples which surpassed that number, namely London, Paris, and Constantinople. At the beginning of the present century the principal cities of Italy had a relative importance much larger than what they enjoy at present. Naples, with 400,000 inhabitants, was little inferior to Paris with 500,000. Rome, with 153,000, was almost equal to Berlin, while Vienna only possessed half the population of Naples. Liverpool and Glasgow were then inferior to Naples, Rome, Palermo, Milan, and Venice. In the time of Augustus the population of Italy was about the fourth part of that of all Europe; while at present it is only the twelfth. There can be no doubt that during the next few centuries this population will continue to be modified to the disadvantage of Italy. Everyone will comprehend the political consequences of this fact, and, according to the resolution taken, whether to let things go on so, or to seek beyond the seas the expansion which is denied to Italy in Europe, will depend in great part the future of the Italian nation.—Salvatore Farina's new novel 'All for Fanie's Sweet Sake,' is continued.—A. Brunialti contributes an article on the Italian quarrel with Columbia.—In the 'Records of Foreign Literature,' Sig. Nencione praises Vernon Lee's new book 'Juvenalia,' but says that the authoress, like so many modern writers, studies nature and art not for their own sakes, but for what they can suggest with a view to a lecture or a book to be written.—The Italian reviewer welcomes with delight the 'unedited letters' of Thackeray and Dickens. He also notices the founding of the Walt Whitman Society in America, and judges Whitman as a poet, who, if you read him patiently and slowly, soon attracts you as by some magic current, and leads you to true and primitive sentiments.—(Sept. 16th). G. Mazzoni opens this number with a short article on the life of Molière, according to the latest studies.—V. Giachi has an interesting paper on popular superstitions in ancient Rome, showing how the ancient religion, which the

writer thinks was the principal if not sole source of the Roman greatness, became debased and perverted.—L. Belgrano give an account of the progress of the Italian Historic Society, which was founded in 1885, is composed of fifteen members, and has for its aim to promote the publication of everything relating to national history.—*Nautilus* has a long article on the Italian naval service.—Farina's novel is continued.—P. Lamberteschi writes on Italian policy in connection with the Bulgarian question, and the number closes with a short paper on the cutting of the Isthmus of Corinth showing that the formation of that canal will be of great advantage to Italy and Austria.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Sept. 1st).—The continuation of the papers by G. Grabinski on 'The Soudan and the Madhi' is in this number entitled 'The beginning of the Revolt.'—It is followed by a lecture on the two editions of Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi* delivered at Naples some time ago by Professor Antona-Traversa.—G. Cappucini carries on the discussion on the teaching of ancient and modern languages in Italy.—R. Corniani has an interesting article on Father Agostino, the monk who has made such a sensation in Florence and the neighbourhood by his preaching. The writer inquires into the reason why a humble friar has succeeded not only in making himself heard by persons more or less hostile to the Catholic religion, but also in arousing an unprecedented enthusiasm, so that wherever he held his Lenten sermons all other things sank into insignificance. The writer thinks that the chief reason of this success lies in the present want in our daily life of spirituality, and that the Father has known how to strike the rock of living waters just at the moment when the thirst for ideality and spirituality was making itself most felt. Even the vacillation of political parties observable just now he maintains, shows that they are only waiting to get connection and strength to follow one flag alone, while other comforting symptoms are the universal charity poured out on the sufferers by earthquake, war or disease, and the enthusiastic affection with which the King and Queen of Italy are received wherever they go. The chief symptom of all is the evident desire for conciliation between religion and patriotism, between the duty of the believer and that of the Italian. Father Agostino took advantage of all these symptoms to show forth the glory of religion, proving that it can satisfy all tendencies and influence the peace of the human soul, the greatness of the nation, and the perfecting of the individual. Father Agostino has set himself the task of conquering the prejudice that religion is incompatible with social progress. In form, the Father is revolutionary, which style captivates the sympathy of his audience. There is nothing of the cathedra, of unction, or of academic science in his speech. His voice is even without being monotonous, clear but not loud, his words rapid yet distinct. His sermons are so full of pearls that it would be difficult to select, and his arguments gain value when connected the one with the other. Sometimes the form of his sermons seems too audacious, even irreverent. He sometimes involuntarily pronounces phrases which, interpreted by ignorant workmen, might be thought a sanction of socialistic theories. It has been objected that the Father uses the words 'poor people' 'povero popolo' so often that it might be believed he considered the people as the victims of the higher classes. The reader must not therefore think that Father Agostino is a seeker after popularity. He stigmatizes the vices and defects of all classes alike, and is adored by all classes because they understand that he is fighting for morality, religion, and the good of the country he so dearly loves. His struggle is not without fruit; he has converted many persons not only from one creed to another, but also from atheism and indifference to faith.—X. writes on the military question.—(Sept. 16th).—C. Sardi writes a learned article on Christian charity under the Constantines.—L. Hugues gives a brief sketch of the little known voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Polar Sea in 1477, fifteen years before the discovery of America.—G. Cassani contributes a paper on a parliamentary question relating to the abolishing of feudal laws on fishing, selling of vegetable produce, etc., which still exist in some of the ex-Papal provinces.—C. F. Gabba discourses on the differences between the State and the Pope.—V. Santini writes on senatorial reform, and E. F. Toperti on the Italian navy and

its command.—G. Martucci gives an account of the famous Venetian comedian Andrea Calmo, who died in 1751.

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA (for July 2nd), contains an interesting article, which, with others preceding and to follow, seeks to prove that electricity is the greatest factor in earthquakes, and gives many curious incidents in proof.—In the number for (August 20th), the most important item is the first of a series of papers on France, a century after the revolution. The other theological, historical, and political articles are continued.

LA CULTURA, edited by Sig. Bonghi (July, 1887), has a review of Spencer's 'Ecclesiastical Institutions,' at the close of which the writer says: 'The great and unresolved contradiction in Spencer's conclusions seems to us to be this: what sort of religion is that ultimate one, the object of which is an infinite energy which is in no kind of religious relation to man? Such a religion seems to us the same as its negation. The religious question seems to us to be far more complete than it appears in Spencer's analysis. The worship of one's forefathers may be one of the primitive forms of religion, but it is not the only or the primitive one. If the Divine sentiment were not innate in the human soul, no evolution could *educate* it. The sentiment of the Divine is certainly an object of evolution, but that evolution *creates* the germ, is pretended neither by ecclesiastical nor any other institutions.'

The third issue for 1887 of THE ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO contains: 'New documents and notices of the life and writings of Leon Battista Alberti,' by G. Mancini; 'The first conquest of Britain by the Romans,' by G. Stocchi; 'Henry VII. and Francesco Barberino,' by F. Novati; and reviews of Italian and German works. The fourth issue has for its contents: 'Sanitary regulations in the commune of Pistoia against the Pestilence of 1348,' by A. Chiappelli; 'The Society of the Torri in Florence,' by P. Santini; and a further paper on 'The first conquest of Britain by the Romans,' by G. Stocchi.

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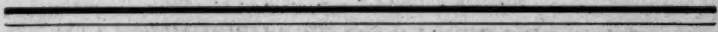
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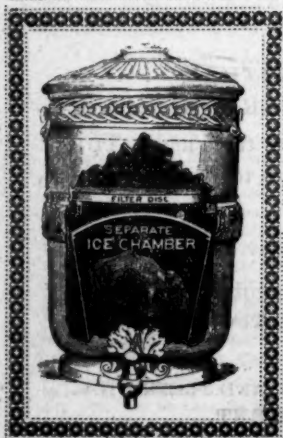
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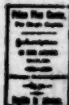
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